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CHANGES IN TENNESSEE: WHAT THE 1980 CENSUS DATA SHOW

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*At the time this research was conducted, Dr. Postma was a Research Assistant Professor and Director of the UTK portion of the Tennessee State Data Center at the UT Center for Business and Economic Research. Jan Jacobsen was a Graduate Assistant in the UTK Department of Sociology.

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CHANGES IN TENNESSEE:
WHAT THE 1980 CENSUS DATA SHOW

PREFACE

Comparing rates of population growth sometimes seems to be a preoccupation of American community leaders. Large, positive rates of growth are often taken to be the measures of success in regional development, although the nation's largest urban areas are testimony to the diseconomies of large population agglomerations. Smaller communities may have severe problems handling rapid population change, whether it is growing or declining. The real factor one would like to measure, of course, is the well-being of the individuals concerned, and tracking demographic numbers does not in itself provide that measure. Looking for systematic demographic changes within the state or community can, however, serve as a guide to thinking about the ways in which the well-being of particular groups may be affected. By highlighting the major changes in the population of the state as a whole, and the 95 counties, this monograph is intended to help local analysts in assessing the changes in their own communities and to lead them to a consideration of the implications for the people living there.

The data presented in the monograph are taken from publications and computer tapes derived principally from the 1970 and 1980 Censuses of Population and Housing. In Part One, "Patterns of Population and Demographic Change," economist Patricia D. Postma focuses on changes in the geographical distribution of Tennesseans and on the socioeconomic characteristics of the state's population. The bulk of the research involved in Part One was completed prior to November 1983, until which time Dr. Postma was a Research Assistant Professor in The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Center for Business and Economic Research (CBER) and Project Director of the UTK portion of the Tennessee State Data Center.

Part Two, authored by Donald W. Hastings and Jan C. Jacobsen, directs attention to more sociological applications of population shift and economic changes: that is, the changing patterns of marriage, divorce, mortality, and fertility. Research in Part Two was undertaken by the authors while Jan Jacobsen was a Graduate Assistant in the UTK Department of Sociology. Dr. Hastings is a Professor in the UTK Department of Sociology.

The information provided represents only a small part of data available. In particular, the monograph does not deal at all with Tennessee's hundreds of places, but readers should be aware that the decennial censuses are virtually the only source of comprehensive published data for these local areas.

Although these census publications are not available everywhere, for the first time, the Bureau of the Census has established in nearly every state Data Centers which have the job of disseminating census data to users within the state. In Tennessee, the Tennessee State Planning Office in Nashville has been designated as the lead agency of the Tennessee State Data Center, with primary technical support provided by CBER at UTK. There are 14 affiliates, including each Development District office, which have all the published data for Tennessee. CBER has both published data and more extensive data for every geographic subdivision on computer tape. In addition, there are numerous university libraries which store census data, many with data for other states as well. The following list provides places where readers can find additional data.

David A. Hake, Director
Center for Business and Economic Research

TENNESSEE STATE DATA CENTER

Tennessee State Planning Office, 1800 James K. Polk Building, 505 Deaderick Street,
Nashville, TN 37219, (615) 741-1676

Center for Business and Economic Research, Suite 100, Glocker Business Administration
Building, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-4170, (615) 974-5441.

WEST TENNESSEE DATA RESOURCES

Federal Depository Libraries

Library, University of Tennessee at Martin, Martin, TN 38237, (901) 587-7060

Luther L. Cobbel Library, Lambuth College, Jackson, TN 38301, (901) 427-6743

John W. Brister Library, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152, (901) 454-2205

Memphis and Shelby County Public Library, 1850 Peabody Avenue, Memphis, TN 38104, (901) 528-2965

State Data Center Affiliates

Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152, (901) 454-2281

Northwest Tennessee Development District, P. O. Box 63, Martin, TN 38237, (901) 587-4215

Southwest Tennessee Development District, P. O. Box 2385, Jackson, TN 38301, (901) 422-4041

Library, University of Tennessee at Martin, Martin, TN 38237, (901) 587-7065

Memphis Delta Development District, 61 Adams Avenue, Memphis, TN 38103, (901) 528-2770

Memphis and Shelby County Office of Planning and Development, City Hall, 125 N. Main Street, Memphis, TN 38103, (901) 528-2763

MIDDLE TENNESSEE DATA RESOURCES

Federal Depository Libraries

Jere Whitson Memorial Library, Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, TN 38501, (615) 528-3217

Andrew L. Todd Library, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN 37132, (615) 898-2817

Public Library of Nashville and Davidson County, Nashville, TN 37219, (615) 244-4700

Fisk University Library, Fisk University, Nashville, TN 37203, (615) 329-8730

Martha Brown Memorial Library, Tennessee State University, Nashville, TN 37203, (615) 320-3682

Vanderbilt Law Library, College of Law, Nashville, TN 37240, (615) 322-2568

Vanderbilt University Library, West End Avenue, Nashville, TN 37240, (615) 322-6093

Felix G. Woodward Library, Austin Peay State University, Clarksville, TN 37040, (615) 648-7346

State Data Center Affiliates

Upper Cumberland Development District, Burgess Falls Road, Cookeville, TN 38501, (615) 432-4111

Mid-Cumberland Development District, 501 Union Street, Suite L-100, Nashville, TN 37219, (615) 244-1212

South Central Tennessee Development District, 805 Nashville Highway, Columbia, TN 38401, (615) 381-2040

Department of Economic and Community Development, 1029 Andrew Jackson Building, Nashville, TN 37219, (615) 741-1888

EAST TENNESSEE DATA RESOURCES

Federal Depository Libraries

King College Library, King College, Bristol, TN 37620, (615) 764-2141

Kingsport Public Library, Broad and New Streets, Kingsport, TN 37660, (703) 669-9444

Sherrod Library, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN 37601, (615) 929-4112

Carson-Newman College Library, Russell Avenue, Jefferson City, TN 37760,
(615) 475-9919

Lawson-McGhee Public Library, 500 Church Street, SW, Knoxville, TN 37902,
(615) 523-0781

University of Tennessee Law Library, College of Law, Knoxville, TN 37916,
(615) 974-4381

The University of Tennessee Library, Main Branch, Knoxville, TN 37916,
(615) 974-4301

TVA Technical Library, 400 Commerce Avenue, Knoxville, TN 37902, (615) 632-3464

Cleveland State Community College Library, Cleveland State Community College,
Cleveland, TN 37311, (615) 472-7141

Chattanooga Hamilton County Bicentennial Library, 1001 Broad Street, Chattanooga, TN
37402, (615) 757-5312

Jesse Ball DuPont Library, University of the South, Sewanee, TN 37375, (615) 598-5931

State Data Center Affiliates

First Tennessee-Virginia Development District, 207 North Boone Street, Johnson City, TN
37601, (615) 928-0224

East Tennessee Development District, Westwood Building 5616 Kingston Pike, P. O. Box
19806, Knoxville, TN 37919, (615) 584-8553

Southeast Tennessee Development District, 423 James Building, 735 Broad Street,
Chattanooga, TN 37402, (615) 266-5781

Oak Ridge Public Library, Civic Center, Oak Ridge, TN 37830, (615) 483-6386

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PART ONE

PATTERNS OF POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identifying the patterns among the hundreds of thousands of census statistics for Tennessee is not simple. There are so many aspects to consider that even careful analysts can find room to disagree. This monograph treats only a small percentage of the data, but, even so, some patterns do emerge. The first of these concerns the geographic distribution of the population. As has been the case nationally, Tennessee's rural areas have ceased to lose population--a dramatic turnaround from earlier decades. However, unlike the United States as a whole, Tennessee is still urbanizing. The fringe areas around Tennessee's largest cities have expanded dramatically and the fastest growing counties have been those that are suburbs of metropolitan areas or immediately adjacent to metropolitan areas. One of the most striking changes has been the change in households. The number of households has increased at twice the rate of the population. The number of single-person households increased more than five times as fast as the population. In many of the state's rural counties, these single-person households are overwhelmingly female and elderly. As the large increase in household units would lead one to expect, more than 30 percent of the state's housing stock has been built since 1970.

In terms of economic welfare, real incomes have increased modestly over the decade, but fewer Tennesseans are below the poverty level in 1980 and more than ever before have access to cars, telephones, and complete plumbing facilities. In terms of schooling, Tennessee adults fall far below the levels of U.S. adults on the average.

Geographically there are still notable disparities. The central cities and suburban communities around them have by far the highest incomes and the highest levels of education. The rural counties rank much lower in these respects, and, in particular, the East Tennessee counties on the Kentucky border and the counties west of the Tennessee River show up again and again in the ranks of the most disadvantaged.

Although the information presented in this monograph is but a small part of what is available, the reader will find numerous other patterns that confirm or deny impressions of the changes that have occurred in Tennessee over the past decade. In assessing rates and patterns of growth, readers need to be aware that apparently factual data are never really unequivocal. This is true, for example, of data for the vast majority of incorporated places in Tennessee which annexed territory between 1970 and 1980. In these cases, rates of growth reflect more than population change; and slower-growing places may sometimes simply be those which did not annex.

Boundary changes of another kind also require care in interpretation. A Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) may grow by virtue of adding whole counties when census data indicate that substantial changes have occurred in the economic interdependence of contiguous counties--or if the criteria which define MSAs are changed. Between 1970 and 1980, counties were added to nearly every Tennessee MSA, and the Clarksville, Tennessee-Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and Tri-cities areas were designated as new MSAs. This monograph provides data on population change for both 1970 and 1980 boundaries.

The Census Bureau has announced similar changes in Tennessee MSAs as a result of the 1980 Census. Three counties, Grainger, Jefferson, and Sevier, have been added to the four-county Knoxville MSA. Although these changes became official as of June 30, 1983, the publications of the 1980 census and the data in this monograph are based on the definitions in existence at the time the census was taken.

Another kind of care in interpretation is required. Frequently terms used to report Census data have a more precise or different meaning than the same terms used in casual conversation, and occasionally the Bureau of the Census alters the definition of a term between one Census and the next. In this monograph the authors have attempted to define ambiguous terms and to provide the correct conceptual interpretation of the data in the text and in notes to the tables.

Perhaps the most pervasive problem is the population undercount in the 1970 census. Post-census checks against various administrative records lead the Bureau to conclude that the actual 1970 census undercounted the population by about 2 percent for the United States as a whole. Recently the Bureau estimated, but has not yet published, undercounts for each state. The undercount for Tennessee was estimated to be about 3.5 percent. A larger 1970 population means that actual growth rates are lower than those reported by the 1980 Census. There is, however, no way to allocate the state-wide estimate of undercounts geographically or by age--at least with any certainty--so we will continue to accept at its face value the analysis of change between 1970 and 1980.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 2

CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TENNESSEANS

Differential Rates of Population Growth

On the average, Tennessee remains less urban[1] than the United States, and the division of Tennessee's population between its rural areas and its urban areas has changed very little over the decade, as Table 1 shows. Thus urbanization--that is, the

TABLE 1

PERCENT CHANGES IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, 1950-1980

		Percent Change From Preceding Census			Percent of Total Population	
Year	Total Population	Total Population	Urban Population	Rural Population	Urban	Rural
1980	4,591,120	16.9	19.6	13.2	60.4	39.6
1970	3,926,018	10.1	24.3	-5.7	59.1	40.9
1960	3,567,089	8.4	28.4	-7.4	52.3	47.7
1950	3,291,718	12.9	a	a	44.1	55.9

a. Change in urban definition precludes comparison.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Table 1.

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[1] The terms "urban" and "rural" are specifically defined for purposes of Census statistics. The urban population is defined as people living in incorporated places of 2,500 or more, or in Urbanized Areas. Urbanized Areas are large cities and their densely populated contiguous fringe areas. These fringe areas may or may not include smaller incorporated areas. The rural population is everyone who does not live in an Urbanized Area or an incorporated place of 2,500 or more people.

shift of population from rural to urban areas--has slowed. Urban growth has continued over the past decade, but at a rate not much greater than that of rural growth. Among the spectrum of places which fall within the urban definition, however, there has been a marked change in distribution of the population. This leads to the conclusion that the state is indeed more urban than it was a decade ago, at least as the word is normally understood.

Tables 2 and 3 exhibit these broad shifts in the state's urban and rural population. In terms of both absolute numbers

TABLE 2

POPULATION OF URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1970 AND 1980

	1980	1970
Urban	2,773,573	2,318,458
Urbanized Areas	2,086,494	1,599,619
Central cities	1,636,601	1,427,076
Urban fringe	449,893	172,543
Other Urban	687,079	718,839
Places 2,500-10,000	337,444	320,591
Places above 10,000	349,635	398,248
Rural	1,817,547	1,605,229
Places 1,000-2,500	1,152,123	118,062
Other rural	1,665,424	1,487,167

NOTE: As place size changes, or the urbanized area grows, places counted in one category in 1970 may be part of another category in 1980. Places incorporated during the decade were not counted as places in 1970. Annexations also affect the count of persons in places. Thus, the figures are properly interpreted as information about the changing living circumstances of persons over time rather than change in a given set of places.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Table 1.

TABLE 3

POPULATION BY SIZE OF PLACE, 1970-1980

	Tennessee				United States	
	Number of Places	Popu-lation	Percent of Total Popu-lation	Percent Change 1970-1980	Percent of Total Popu-lation	Percent Change 1970-1980
Total	379	4,591,120	100.0	16.9	100.0	11.4
Urban	154	2,773,573	60.4	19.6	73.7	11.6
Inside urbanized areas	64	2,086,494	45.4	30.4	61.4	15.3
Central cities	9	1,636,601	35.6	14.7	29.6	3.0
Cities of--						
1,000,000 or more	--	--	--	--	7.7	-6.6
500,000 to 1,000,000	1	646,305	14.1	3.7	4.8	-16.4
250,000 to 500,000	1	446,027	9.7	2.3	5.3	14.0
100,000 to 250,000	2	344,595	7.5	17.3	5.4	7.1
50,000 to 100,000	1	54,777	1.2	--	3.8	0.2
Less than 50,000	4	144,897	3.2	96.5	2.6	110.4
Urban fringe	55	449,893	9.8	160.7	31.8	29.6
100,000 or more	--	--	--	--	2.2	77.6
50,000 to 100,000	--	--	--	--	4.9	37.6
25,000 to 50,000	1	26,561	0.6	--	6.4	51.9
10,000 to 25,000	10	146,598	3.2	145.8	7.6	47.3
5,000 to 10,000	12	88,424	1.9	531.9	3.5	43.7
2,500 to 5,000	16	53,948	1.2	168.4	1.1	37.4
Other urban	...	107,095	2.3	51.8	6.2	-14.2

TABLE 3

POPULATION BY SIZE OF PLACE, 1970-1980
(Continued)

	Tennessee				United States	
	Number of Places	Population	Percent of Total Population	Percent Change 1970-1980	Percent of Total Population	Percent Change 1970-1980
Outside urbanized areas	90	687,079	15.0	-4.4	12.3	-3.6
Places of--						
25,000 or more	4	113,294	2.5	-11.8	1.7	-35.1
10,000 to 25,000	17	236,341	5.1	-12.4	4.3	3.1
5,000 to 10,000	27	187,892	4.1	-2.1	3.3	0.5
2,500 to 5,000	42	149,552	3.3	16.2	3.1	10.7
Rural	225	1,817,547	39.6	13.2	26.3	11.1
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	97	152,123	3.3	28.8	3.1	7.4
Places of less than 1,000	128	66,387	1.4	-6.7	1.7	0.4
Other rural	...	1,599,037	34.8	12.9	21.4	12.6

NOTE: As place size changes, places counted in one size category in 1970 may be counted in another in 1980, thus large rates of growth often reflect the fact that smaller places crossed threshold and added to the size of the group in 1980. The apparent large decline in some places outside urbanized areas is really the result of the fact that they have become part of an Urbanized Area by 1980 and are thus counted in another category.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Table 9, Number of Inhabitants, United States, Table 4.

and rates of growth, Urbanized Areas experienced by far the largest population growth. Over the decade, nearly 487,000 more people chose to live in the state's largest Urbanized Areas, representing an increase of 30 percent. Fewer than half (43 percent) of this number lived within the political boundaries of the central cities of these Urbanized Areas, while more than half[2] lived in the densely populated areas adjacent to the boundaries of the central cities. Without annexation by the central cities, this growth in adjacent areas would appear even more striking.

Outside these Urbanized Areas, however, the number of persons living in the smallest urban places (2,500 -10,000) grew only slightly over the decade. The number of persons living in Tennessee's medium-sized places of 10,000 or more outside urban areas actually declined. About 212,000 more people lived in the state's rural areas and places in 1980 than in 1970. (In terms of absolute numbers, many more lived outside the small rural places. But the rates of growth of rural places between 1000 and 2,500 in size are higher than the rate for non-incorporated rural areas because the population base on which the place percentage is calculated is small.)

Table 3 provides population and decade growth rates for places of all size for Tennessee and the United States. Both display similar patterns of change over the decade, although Tennessee's rates of growth were much higher. Consequently, in 1980 the state's population distribution was more like that of the United

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2. In order of size, these central cities are Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Clarksville, Jackson, Johnson City, Kingsport, and Bristol (Tennessee part).

States than it was in 1970 (1970 data are not shown in Table 3), but Tennessee, with a population that is 60.4 percent urban, remains much less urban than the United States as a whole.

In both Tennessee and the United States the highest rates of growth occurred in the urban fringe areas around large central cities--particularly the incorporated places in the fringe. Those high rates reflect some growth in the places, but it is primarily the result of urban spread. That is, Urbanized Areas are defined as contiguous areas of relatively dense population; population adjacent to central city boundaries has grown sufficiently so that formerly "detached" places have been surrounded by the general metropolitan growth and by 1980 were included within that urban fringe. In Tennessee, since 1970, more than a dozen places around Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville and the Tri-Cities have been engulfed by the spreading urban population.

The biggest contrast between growth patterns in Tennessee and the United States is found for central cities. The two largest categories of U.S. cities showed population declines, while in Tennessee the largest change was positive. Generalizations, however, are probably not legitimate, since Tennessee has only one or two central cities in each size class. It should be noted, too, that most of the state's central cities annexed population, an option that is not open to many older U.S. cities. Surprisingly, 35.6 percent of Tennessee's population lives in central cities, compared to 30 percent in the United States, and despite high growth rates in the urban fringe, a much smaller proportion of Tennessee's population lives in the fringe than is true for the United States.

These data allow a comparison of the urban and rural population at the extremes of the spectrum. In 1980, 35.6 percent of the population lived in central cities, while 34.8 percent lived in rural areas outside places. Adding the densely populated fringe area to central cities and including all rural areas puts 45.4 percent of the population at the most urban end of the spectrum and 39.6 percent at the rural end.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Metropolitan Statistical Areas have been designated for convenience in studying relatively large, *integrated* economic areas.[3] Like other entities, Metropolitan Statistical Areas can grow in terms of numbers of people and through boundary changes. As a result of the evidence from the 1970 Census of Population and Housing and the 1972 economic censuses, several counties were added to existing Metropolitan Statistical Areas in Tennessee. In addition, both the Tri-cities area and the Clarksville, Tennessee-Hopkinsville, Kentucky area were designated as new Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Comparing the population in the MSA's as they were defined in the 1970 census to the population of MSA's as they were defined in 1980 shows a large increase, both in numbers of persons and in the proportion of the total state population living in metropolitan areas. The most notable increase has been in new MSA counties, since five additional counties became part of the Nashville MSA and four were added to other MSAs. The five counties of the Tricities area and Clarksville (Montgomery County) were also designated during the decade.

---

[3] The most recently revised criteria by which these areas are defined can be found in *The Federal Register* for January 3, 1980. Among other changes in the definitions relating to Metropolitan areas enacted recently are variations in the title, depending on size. The name "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area" will be changed to Metropolitan Statistical Area and is the appropriate term to use for all areas in Tennessee.

In 1980, 62.8 percent of the state's population lived in its metropolitan areas. Table 4 shows changes in the Tennessee portion of the state's MSAs, using both the 1970 and the 1980 boundaries. Considering change by holding boundaries stable reflects facts about the spatial distribution of people. Considering change within changed boundaries reflects facts about relationships. Since MSA boundaries are defined by the existence of significant economic ties among contiguous counties, the 50 percent increase in population within MSA boundaries implies a more metropolitan-oriented, economically integrated population than in 1970.

Calculating the 1970 population by the 1980 boundary definitions also shows population growth in those areas, though the overall growth rate of 15.5 percent is a little less than the average for the state, and consequently, a slightly smaller proportion of the state's population lives in the 1980 MSA boundaries than in the same geographic area in 1970. Again, the exceptions are the counties surrounding the central county, where growth rates were double the state average.

Because MSAs are defined using whole county aggregations, they always include rural areas outside place boundaries and Urbanized Areas. Though these metropolitan counties are less rural in 1980 than they were in 1970, the inclusion of many more counties

TABLE 4

TENNESSEE METROPOLITAN POPULATION[1]

1980 and 1970

	1980		1970				Percent change 1970-1980	
	Population	Percent of Total State Population	Population by 1980 MSA Boundaries	Percent of Total State Population	Population by 1970 MSA Boundaries	Percent of Total State Population	By 1980 Boundaries in 1970	By 1970 Boundaries in 1970
All MSA counties	2,884,209	62.8	2,497,021	63.6	1,917,695	48.8	15.5	50.4
Central counties[2]	2,222,174	48.4	1,999,089	50.9	1,700,546	43.3	11.2	30.7
Central cities	1,578,118	34.3	1,447,161	36.9	1,365,202	34.8	9.0	15.6
Other MSA counties	662,035	14.4	497,932	12.7	217,149	5.5	33.0	204.9
Urban	2,248,503	49.0	1,834,337	46.7	1,613,135	41.1	22.6	39.4
Rural	635,706	13.8	662,684	16.8	304,560	7.8	-4.1	108.7
Percent of MSA Population that is rural	22.0		26.5		15.9			

1. Four of Tennessee's six MSAs cross state boundaries; these data are for the Tennessee portion only. Table 5 below, provides data on whole MSAs and their out-of-state component.

2. Carter County is included in "other MSA counties," although it contains a very small portion of Johnson City.

SOURCE: Calculated by the Center for Business and Economic Research from 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Tables 3 and 11.

surrounding the central county makes for a larger proportion of MSA population that is rural in 1980 than was the case in 1970.

Growth rates for metropolitan areas were highest for Clarksville-Hopkinsville and Nashville, while Memphis had the lowest. Growth rates for suburban counties tend to be higher than average and higher than those for central cities (with the exception of Chattanooga, which annexed a significant amount of population). Table 5 provides population figures for each individual metroplitan county, including the out-of-state portions of Tennessee MSA's. In both the Chattanooga and Memphis MSAs, out-of-state counties grew at higher rates of growth than their Tennessee counterparts, including a rate of 50 percent for Desoto County, Mississippi.

As a result of the 1980 Census, and changes in the criteria for defining MSA counties, the Census Bureau announced changes in some Tennessee MSAs. Effective June 30, 1983, Grainger, Jefferson, and Sevier counties became part of the Knoxville MSA. The new seven-county Knoxville MSA population is 565,970.

Counties

Every county in Tennessee grew in population over the decade, with the exception of Lake County. Table 5 shows the wide variation in county growth rates which ranged from Williamson County's high of 68.8 percent to Lake County's loss of 7.7 percent. The map in Figure 1 shows the fastest growing half of Tennessee counties. The primary area of population growth has been in the Nashville-Davidson Metropolitan Area. The map re-

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN STATISCAL AREAS

Component Parts	Population 1980	Population 1970	Percent Change 1970-1980
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.--GA.			
The area	426,540	370,857	15.0
Chattanooga city	169,565	119,923	41.4
That part of the area in Georgia	105,779	88,872	19.0
Catoosa County	36,991	28,271	30.8
Wade County	12,318	9,910	24.3
Walker County	56,470	50,691	11.4
That part of the area in Tennessee	320,761	281,985	13.8
Hamilton County	287,740	255,077	12.0
Marion County	24,416	20,577	18.7
Sequatchie County	8,605	6,331	35.9
CLARKSVILLE--HOPKINSVILLE, TENN.--KY.			
The area	150,220	118,945	26.3
Inside central cities	82,095	53,114	54.6
Clarksville city	54,777	31,719	72.7
Hopkinsville city	27,318	21,395	27.7
That part of the area in Kentucky	66,878	56,224	18.9
Christian County	66,878	56,224	18.9
That part of the area in Tennessee	83,342	62,721	32.9
Montgomery County	83,342	62,721	32.9
JOHNSON CITY--KINGSPORT--BRISTOL,TENN.--VA.			
The area	433,638	373,591	16.1
Inside central cities	95,766	85,772	11.6

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS
(Continued)

Component Parts	Population 1980	Population 1970	Percent Change 1970-1980
Bristol city	23,986	20,064	19.5
Johnson City city	39,753	33,770	17.7
Kingsport city	32,027	31,938	0.3
That part of the area in Tennessee	343,041	293,523	16.9
Carter County	50,205	43,259	16.1
Hawkins County	43,751	33,757	29.6
Sullivan County	143,968	127,329	13.1
Unicoi County	16,362	15,254	7.3
Washington County	88,755	73,924	20.1
That part of the area in Virginia	90,597	80,068	13.2
Scott County	25,068	24,376	2.8
Washington County	46,487	40,835	13.8
Bristol city	19,042	14,857	28.2
KNOXVILLE, TENN.			
The area	476,517	409.409	16.4
Knoxville city	175,030	174,587	0.25
Anderson County	67,346	60,300	11.7
Blount County	77,770	63,744	22.0
Knox County	319,694	276,293	15.7
Union County	11,707	9,072	29.0
MEMPHIS, TENN.--ARK.--MISS.			
The area	913,472	834,103	9.5
Memphis city	646,356	623,988	3.6
That part of the area in Arkansas	49,499	48.106	2.9

TABLE 5

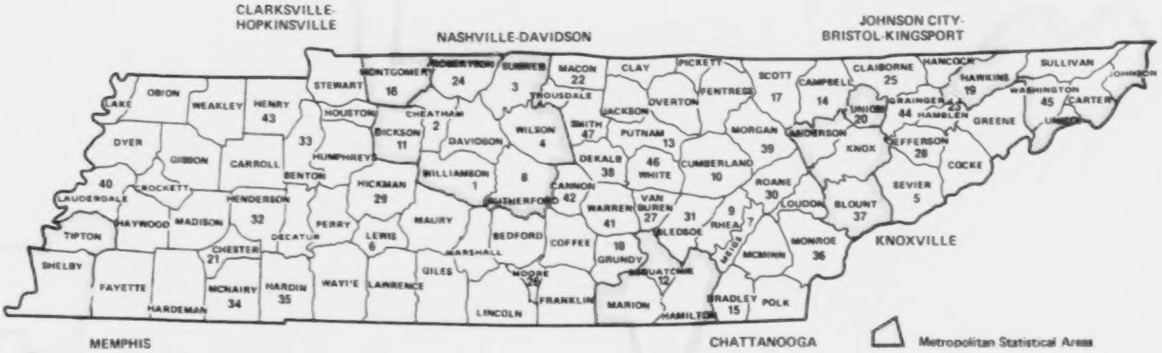
POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS
(Continued)

Component Parts	Population 1980	Population 1970	Percent Change 1970-1980
Crittenden County	49,499	48,106	2.9
That part of the area in Mississippi	53,930	35,885	50.3
DeSoto County	53,930	35,885	50.3
That part of the area in Tennessee	810,043	750,112	8.0
Shelby County	77,113	722,111	7.6
Tipton County	32,930	28,001	16.9
NASHVILLE--DAVIDSON, TENN.			
The area	850,505	699,271	21.6
Nashville--Davidson	455,651	426,029	7.0
Cheatham County	21,616	13,199	63.8
Davidson County	477,811	447,877	6.7
Dickson County	30,037	21,977	36.7
Robertson County	37,021	29,102	27.2
Rutherford County	84,058	59,428	41.4
Sumner County	85,790	56,266	52.2
Williamson County	58,108	34,423	68.8
Wilson County	56,064	36,999	51.5

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Table 11.

FIGURE 1

RANK BY POPULATION GROWTH OF TENNESSEE'S 47 FASTEST GROWING COUNTIES, 1970-1980


CLARKSVILLE-HOPKINSVILLE
NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON
JOHNSON CITY-BRISTOL-KINGSPORT
MEMPHIS
CHATTANOOGA
KNOXVILLE
Metropolitan Statistical Areas
LAKE
OBION
WEAKLEY
HENRY 43
STEWART
MONTGOMERY 16
ROBERTSON 24
SUMNER 3
MACON 22
CLAY
PICKETT
SCOTT 17
CAMPBELL 14
CLAIBORNE 25
HANCOCK
HAWKINS 19
SULLIVAN
JOHNSON
WASHINGTON 45
CARTER
UNICOI
GREENE
HAMBLEN 23
GRAINGER 44
UNION 20
FENTRESS
OVERTON
JACKSON
TROUSDALE
SMITH 47
PUTNAM 13
MORGAN 39
ANDERSON
KNOX
JEFFERSON 28
COCKE
SEVIER 5
BLOUNT 37
LOUDON
ROANE 30
CUMBERLAND 10
WHITE 46
DEKALB 38
CANNON 42
WILSON 4
DAVIDSON
CHEATHAM 2
HOUSTON
DICKSON 11
HUMPHREYS
33
BENTON
CARROLL
GIBSON
DYER
40
LAUDERDALE
CROCKETT
HENDERSON 32
HICKMAN 29
WILLIAMSON 1
RUTHERFORD 8
WARREN 41
VAN BUREN 27
31
RHEA 9
7
MEIGS
BLEDSOE
MCMINN
MONROE 36
POLK
BRADLEY 15
HAMILTON
SEQUATCHIE 12
MARION
GRUNDY 18
COFFEE
BEDFORD
MARSHALL
MOORE 26
FRANKLIN
LINCOLN
GILES
MAURY
LAWRENCE
LEWIS 6
PERRY
WAYNE
DECATUR
HARDIN 35
MCNAIRY 34
CHESTER 21
MADISON
HAYWOOD
TIPTON
SHELBY
FAYETTE
HARDEMAN

SOURCE: Center for Business and Economic Research, 1983

veals a secondary pattern as well: a broad arc from the Nashville cluster passing north of Chattanooga and around the Knoxville Metropolitan Area up to Hawkins county. In general, West Tennessee counties, the southern border counties, and the large central counties of metropolitan areas were among the slowest growing. Table 6 provides 1980 population count and rate of growth for all Tennessee counties, as well as their ranking by each measure.

Growth rates are only one way of analyzing change, and to deal only with growth rates can be misleading. For example, Williamson County's 68.8 percent "high" growth rate represents 23,685 additional people, while Shelby County's "low" rate of 7.6 percent represents 55,002 additional people. Sequatchie County's

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TABLE 6

1980 POPULATION COUNT, PERCENT CHANGE, AND RANK FOR TENNESSEE

County	Population 1980	Population Rank	Percentage Change 1970-1980	Percentage Change Rank
TENNESSEE	4,591,120		16.9	
Anderson	67,346	13	11.7	80
Bedford	27,916	44	11.5	81
Benton	14,901	70	22.9	33
Bledsoe	9,478	82	24.0	31
Blount	77,770	10	22.0	37
Bradley	67,547	12	33.3	15
Campbell	34,841	28	33.8	14
Cannon	10,234	80	20.9	42
Carroll	28,285	43	9.9	84
Carter	50,205	18	16.1	64
Cheatham	21,616	55	63.8	2
Chester	12,727	77	28.2	21
Claiborne	24,595	48	26.6	25
Clay	7,676	86	15.9	66
Cocke	28,792	38	13.9	73
Coffee	38,311	26	17.6	57
Crockett	14,941	68	3.7	91
Cumberland	28,676	40	38.3	10
Davidson	477,811	2	6.7	89
Decatur	10,857	79	14.8	70
Dekalb	13,589	76	21.9	38
Dickson	30,037	37	36.7	11
Dyer	34,663	29	13.9	74
Fayette	25,305	46	11.5	82
Fentress	14,826	71	17.7	54
Franklin	31,983	35	17.2	59
Gibson	49,467	19	3.3	93
Giles	24,625	47	11.2	83
Grainger	16,751	62	20.1	44
Greene	54,406	16	14.2	71
Grundy	13,787	73	29.7	18
Hamblen	49,300	20	27.4	23
Hamilton	287,740	4	12.8	78
Hancock	6,887	89	2.5	94
Hardeman	23,873	52	6.4	90
Hardin	22,280	54	22.3	35
Hawkins	23,751	23	29.6	19
Haywood	20,318	57	3.7	92
Henderson	21,390	56	23.2	32
Henry	28,656	41	20.7	43
Hickman	15,151	67	25.3	29
Houston	6,871	90	17.4	58
Humphreys	15,957	65	17.7	55
Jackson	9,398	83	15.4	69
Jefferson	31,284	36	25.4	28
Johnson	13,745	46	18.8	49
Knox	319,694	3	15.7	67
Lake	7,455	87	-7.7	95
Lauderdale	24,555	49	21.1	40
Lawrence	34,110	30	17.2	60
Lewis	9,700	81	43.5	6
Lincoln	26,483	45	8.9	85
Loudon	28,553	42	17.7	56
McMinn	41,878	24	18.1	53
McNairy	22,525	53	22.6	34
Macon	15,700	66	27.5	22
Madison	74,546	11	13.3	76
Marion	24,416	50	18.7	50
Marshall	19,698	58	13.7	75
Maury	51,095	17	16.1	65
Meigs	7,431	88	42.4	7
Monroe	28,700	39	22.3	36
Montgomery	83,342	9	32.9	16
Moore	4,510	94	26.4	26
Morgan	16,604	63	21.9	39
Obion	32,781	32	8.4	86
Overton	17,575	61	18.2	52
Perry	6,111	92	16.7	62
Pickett	4,358	95	15.5	68
Polk	13,602	75	16.6	63
Putnam	47,601	22	34.1	13
Rhea	24,235	51	40.9	9
Roane	48,425	21	24.5	30
Robertson	37,021	27	27.2	24
Rutherford	84,058	8	41.4	8
Scott	19,259	60	30.5	17
Sequatchie	8,605	85	35.9	12
Sevier	41,418	25	46.7	5
Shelby	777,113	1	7.6	81
Smith	14,935	69	19.4	47
Stewart	8,665	84	18.4	51
Sullivan	143,968	5	13.1	77
Sumner	85,790	7	52.5	3
Tipton	32,747	33	16.9	61
Trousdale	6,137	91	19.0	48
Unicoi	16,362	64	7.3	88
Union	11,707	78	29.0	20
Van Buren	4,728	93	25.8	27
Warren	32,653	34	21.1	41
Washington	88,755	6	20.1	45
Wayne	13,946	72	12.8	79
Weakley	32,896	31	14.1	72
White	19,567	59	19.8	46
Williamson	58,108	14	68.8	1
Wilson	56,064	15	51.5	4

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Number of Inhabitants, Tennessee, Table 9 Number of Inhabitants, United States, Table 4.

36 percent growth rate represents 2,274 people, while neighboring Hamilton County's 32,663 additional people accounted for only a 12.8 percent growth rate there. Population counts, ranking by size, and percentage changes over the decade for all Tennessee counties are provided in Table 6.

Migration

Although migration is a fundamental determinant of a region's population size and characterization, the decennial Censuses provide only a limited amount of information on migration. The question answered by a sample of United States households in the 1980 Census which asked about place of residence in 1975 allows some measure of migration over the past five years. The question does not allow us to identify how many moves may have been made in the intervening period, or of migration in the first five years of the decade, but it is a useful guage of change nonetheless. Tables 7 and 8 report the findings from this question.

Tennessee and the nation are similar with respect to movers; in both areas, 45 percent of the population had changed houses between 1975 and 1980. Among Tennessee movers, the majority had changed residences within the same county. Of those movers, a slightly larger percent were out-of-state migrants than the average for the United States--10.6 percent versus 9.8 percent. Table 7 shows the kinds of movement in the state between 1975 and 1980, while Table 8 shows the major migration flows between Tennessee and other states. Other southeastern states have been a major source of exchange with Tennessee, and in most cases,

TABLE 7

1970 AND 1980 POPULATION BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE FIVE YEARS EARLIER

	1980		1970	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Population Five Years and Older	4,268,820	100.0	3,600,263	100.0
Same House	2,315,620	56.0	1,895,029	52.6
Different House:				
Same County	1,158,792	28.0	948,526	26.3
Elsewhere in state	314,156	6.4	215,512	6.0
Other state	450,858	9.1	308,418	8.6
Abroad	29,394	0.5	17,747	0.5

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Tennessee, Table 45.

TABLE 8

MAJOR STATES OF POPULATION EXCHANGE FOR TENNESSEE RESIDENTS BETWEEN 1975 AND 1980

IN-MIGRANTS

State of Residence in 1975	Number of 1980 Tennessee Residents	Percent of Total
Florida	40,908	9.1
Georgia	32,711	7.3
Illinois	28,274	6.3
Ohio	27,143	6.0
Kentucky	26,014	5.8
Mississippi	24,165	5.4
Virginia	24,056	5.3
California	22,572	5.0
Alabama	22,172	4.9
Michigan	21,056	4.7
North Carolina	20,590	4.6
Texas	18,186	4.0
Other	143,011	31.8
TOTAL	450,858	100.0

OUT-MIGRANTS

State of Destination in 1980	Number of 1975 Tennessee Residents	Percent of Total
Georgia	31,516	9.1
Florida	30,127	8.7
Texas	26,313	7.6
Mississippi	24,086	6.9
Alabama	22,294	6.4
Kentucky	19,703	5.7
California	18,440	5.3
North Carolina	18,382	5.3
Virginia	15,659	4.5
Illinois	13,669	3.9
Arkansas	13,123	3.8
Ohio	12,011	3.5
Other	122,614	35.2
TOTAL	347,872	100.0

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Supplementary Report PC80-S1-9, State of Residence in 1975 by State of Residence in 1980, Table 1.

these flows were nearly equal in size. Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia, however, provided significantly more migrants to Tennessee than Tennessee returned. California and Texas were two other Sunbelt states with significant exchanges, though many more Tennesseans migrated to Texas than the reverse. Finally, several midwestern states sent large numbers of migrants to Tennessee, though the reverse was not true.

Of Tennessee's 4,591,120 persons, 72 percent were born in Tennessee, though, of course, their residence in the state may not have been continuous. This compares with 64 percent of the U.S. population as a whole.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 3

CHANGES IN THE SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

Perhaps the most dramatic change to be documented by the 1980 Census is one concerning the number and size of households.[4] In Tennessee, as well as the United States, the number of households has increased, while the average household size has decreased. More adults at every age are living alone, and there are more single-parent families than ever before. In comparison to a 16.9 percent increase in the state's population over the decade, the number of households increased 33 percent. Table 9 shows the change in household and family size since 1970 and some components of these changes. In 1970, 84 percent of all households were families, compared to 77 percent in 1980, and a significantly smaller proportion of families in 1980 were married couple families, compared to 1970. In contrast to the 22.7 percent increase in families over the decade, the increase in single-person households has been more than 88 percent. Because of the increase in single-person households, average household size has dropped from 3.15 persons to 2.77 persons over the decade. Average family size has dropped from 3.51 to 3.22 persons.

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4. A household is a person or persons living in a given housing unit; thus the number of housing units and households is necessarily the same. Families are included in the number of households, as are single persons and groups of nine or fewer unrelated individuals.

TABLE 9

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, 1980 AND 1970

	1980		1970		
	Number	Percent of all Households	Number	Percent of all Households	1970-1980 Percent Change
Households	1,618,434	100.0	1,213,187	100.0	33.4
Families	1,252,226	77.4	1,020,300	84.1	22.7
Single-Parent	216,240	13.4	146,668	12.1	47.4
Married Couple	1,035,986	64.0	873,632	72.0	18.6
Single Persons	329,118	20.3	174,781	14.4	88.3
Average Household Size	2.77		3.15		-12.1
Average Family Size	3.22		3.51		-8.3

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Supplementary Report PC80-S1-9, General Population Characteristics, 1970, Table 22; Summary Tape File 3, 1980, various tables.

Family size declines are related primarily to fertility rates. These data are derived not from the decennial censuses, but from Tennessee state records on births and deaths. Part II of the monograph presents a detailed analysis of fertility changes over the decade. These studies show that the declines in fertility which occurred in the 1960s continued through the 70s. By 1980 the total fertility rate was half as large as the 1960 rate--and less than replacement rates. The declines in fertility were striking for every age group.

These declines have brought about smaller families and have lowered the national and state population proportions that include children. Better medical technology and more accessible medical care have helped bring about an unexpected increase in life expectancies during the past decade. The result is an older population. At the beginning of the century the state's median age was about 21 years. It has been steadily increasing, with the single largest increase between 1970 and 1980--a change from 28.1 in 1970 to 30.1 in 1980. Embodied in this rise in median age is a smaller proportion of children under 20, a larger proportion of 20- to 40-year-olds, and a larger proportion than ever before of adults 65 and over. The population pyramids in Figure 2 are a visible representation of this change in age structure since 1970.

The distribution of Tennessee's population by race has remained essentially stable since 1970, as Table 10 shows. In terms of growth, the size of the Tennessee population classified as "other races" has more than tripled over the decade; however, these groups combined still account for less than 1 percent of the state's population in 1980.

TABLE 10

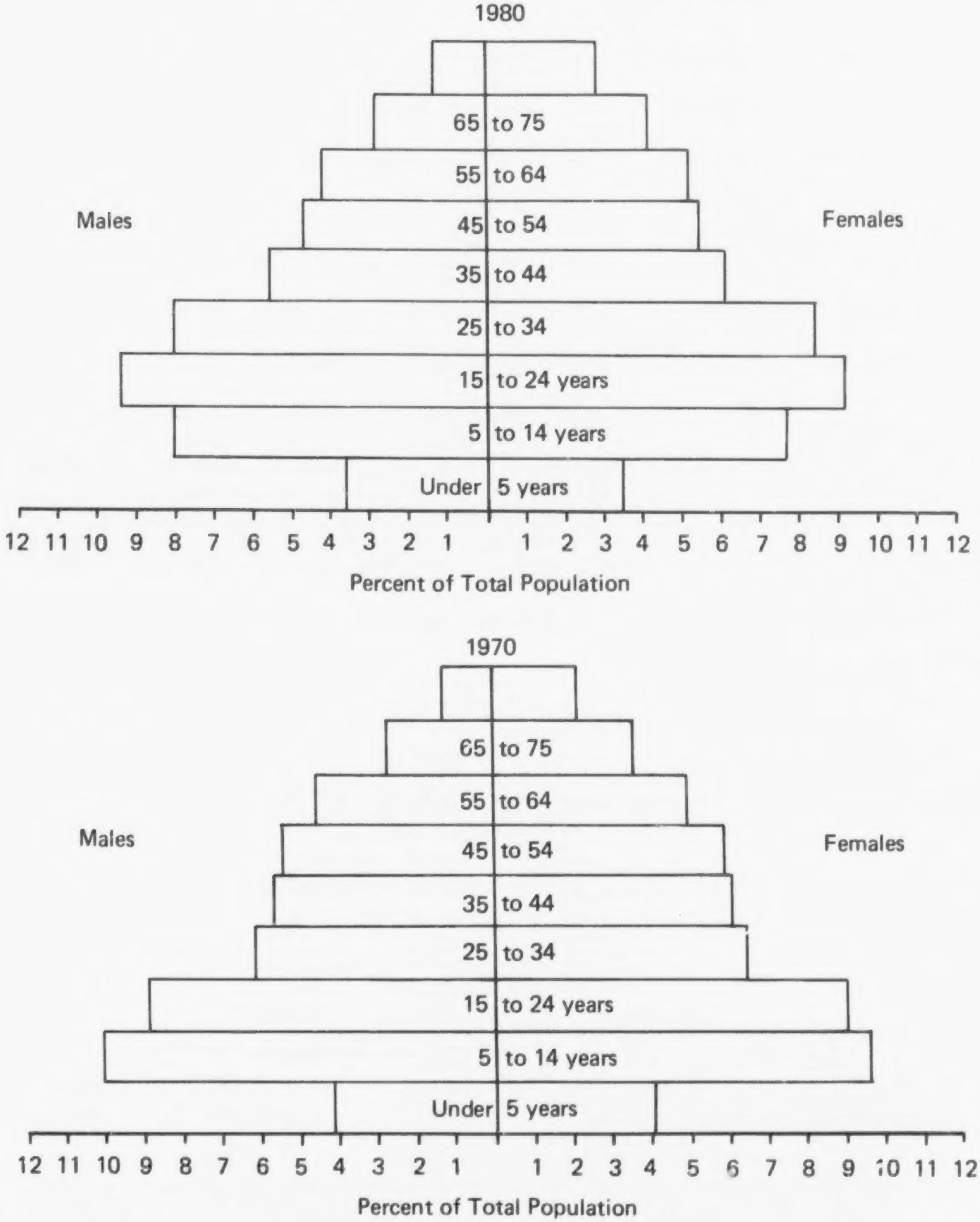
TENNESSEE POPULATION, BY RACE
1970 AND 1980

	1980		1970	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Total	4,591,120	100.0	3,923,687	100.0
White	3,835,452	83.5	3,293,930	83.9
Black	725,942	15.8	621,261	15.8
Other	29,726	0.6	8,496	0.2

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, General Population Characteristics; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Population Characteristics.

FIGURE 2

TENNESSEE AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1970 AND 1980



SOURCE: Center for Business and Economic Research, 1983.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Within the metropolitan areas there have been some changes in racial composition over the decade--mostly in central counties. Table 11 provides a variety of 1980 demographic information for the metropolitan areas and counties. Memphis and the Clarksville-Hopkinsville MSA have a percentage of black population well above the state average, and both have a slightly higher percentage of black population than in 1980. The racial distribution of the Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga, and Tri-Cities MSAs has remained essentially unchanged.

Memphis, Clarksville-Hopkinsville, and the Nashville MSA exhibit age structures different from the state average: Clarksville's median age of 25.2 years is among the lowest in the state, and all three have a low proportion of population above 65 years of age and a high proportion below 18 years of age. The two easternmost MSAs have a smaller proportion of children under 18 and a higher median age than the other metropolitan areas and a higher state average.

The data in Table 11 on single-person households in metropolitan areas is based only on the Tennessee portions of the metropolitan areas. Generally, MSAs tend to have the highest proportions of single-person households, and, indeed, 28.5 percent of the households in the Chattanooga MSA are single-person, compared to a state average of 20.4 percent. In contrast, however, Clarksville-Hopkinsville and the Tri-cities MSAs have smaller proportions of single-person households than is typical of the state.

TABLE 11

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTIES

	Persons					Families		Households		
		Percent								
	Total	Per-cent Black	Percent Under 18 years	Percent 65 years and over	Median age	Total	Average Persons per Family	Total	Average Persons per house-hold	Percent Single Person
The State	4,591,120	17.0	28.3	11.3	30.1	1,248,433	3.22	1,618,505	2.77	20.4
Chattanooga, TN-GA	426,540	14.0	28.4	10.9	30.4	117,212	3.22	150,760	2.77	28.5*
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY	150,220	21.2	29.1	8.1	25.2	37,886	3.29	46,844	2.90	16.3*
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA	433,638	2.1	27.3	11.4	31.9	122,947	3.17	154,169	2.76	18.6*
Knoxville, TN	476,517	7.0	26.0	11.2	30.6	130,326	3.12	174,691	2.65	21.8*
Memphis, TN-ARK-MISS	913,472	39.9	30.5	9.3	27.8	232,406	3.40	311,996	2.86	22.8*
Nashville-Davidson, TN	850,505	16.1	27.5	10.4	29.8	227,098	3.21	301,945	2.73	21.3
Anderson	67,346	3.9	27.6	11.0	32.4	19,050	3.19	24,616	2.70	20.9
Bedford	27,916	10.8	23.5	14.1	32.8	7,899	3.21	9,943	2.77	19.4
Benton	14,901	2.5	26.7	16.6	34.8	4,347	3.08	5,577	2.64	20.9
Bledsoe	9,478	3.4	30.0	10.9	28.0	2,448	3.28	2,979	2.88	17.1
Blount	77,770	3.3	27.0	11.7	31.8	22,510	3.12	28,177	2.72	18.4
Bradley	67,547	3.9	30.2	9.0	28.8	18,795	3.26	23,026	2.87	16.6
Campbell	34,923	0.5	30.7	12.8	31.1	9,692	3.33	12,087	2.88	19.2
Cannon	10,234	1.8	27.6	14.2	33.0	2,936	3.20	3,625	2.80	18.3
Carroll	28,285	11.5	27.4	16.0	33.7	8,264	3.10	10,321	2.70	19.1
Carter	50,205	0.8	27.1	12.4	32.0	14,402	3.16	17,868	2.76	18.2
Cheatham	21,616	2.8	32.3	8.7	28.9	6,039	3.36	7,063	3.04	13.2
Chester	12,727	10.7	26.2	12.9	28.7	3,354	3.19	4,210	2.75	19.7
Claiborne	24,595	1.3	30.1	11.2	29.7	6,865	3.29	8,295	2.91	16.4
Clay	7,676	1.5	28.0	14.4	32.8	2,209	3.18	2.731	2.79	18.0
Cocke	28,792	2.3	29.4	11.0	30.7	8,078	3.27	10,154	2.83	19.2
Coffee	38,311	3.5	28.9	11.2	31.8	10,899	3.19	13,649	2.77	18.7
Crockett	14,941	18.9	28.8	16.2	32.7	4,192	3.24	5,380	2.76	21.8
Cumberland	28,676	--	29.9	12.8	31.3	3,138	3.26	9,887	2.88	16.6
Davidson	477,811	22.3	25.0	11.1	29.9	124,513	3.16	177,737	2.58	25.3
Decatur	10,857	4.4	26.9	16.2	34.7	8,211	3.07	4,081	2.64	20.5
Dekalb	13,589	2.0	27.9	14.7	32.8	3,975	3.13	4,956	2.72	19.1
Dickson	30,037	5.6	30.1	12.7	31.3	8,506	3.26	10,468	2.85	17.8
Dyer	34,663	11.8	29.3	14.0	31.4	9,718	3.21	12,696	2.71	22.1
Fayette	25,305	50.6	34.7	12.8	27.3	6,211	3.80	7,431	3.35	15.4
Fentress	14,826	--	31.5	12.3	30.2	4,085	3.37	5,027	2.94	17.9
Franklin	31,983	7.1	28.5	12.0	30.8	8,810	3.28	10,792	2.87	17.4
Gibson	49,467	19.1	27.6	16.4	33.6	14,096	3.16	18,202	2.69	21.5
Giles	24,625	14.0	27.7	15.2	33.1	7,027	3.17	8,825	2.75	19.3
Grainger	16,751	0.8	29.9	11.6	30.7	4,835	3.24	5,694	2.92	14.6
Greene	54,422	2.3	27.8	11.5	32.3	15,349	3.18	19,157	2.76	18.7
Grundy	13,787	--	33.1	11.1	28.6	3,749	3.45	4,510	3.05	16.0
Hamblen	49,300	4.7	29.6	9.1	30.6	14,042	3.23	17,257	2.84	17.0
Hamilton	287,740	19.1	27.4	11.2	30.5	77,951	3.22	103,319	2.71	22.0
Hancock	6,887	0.6	29.3	13.0	31.3	1,972	3.20	2,351	2.93	15.8

TABLE 11

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTIES
(Continued)

	Persons					Families		Households		
		Percent								
	Total	Per-cent Black	Percent Under 18 years	Percent 65 years and over	Median age	Total	Average Persons per Family	Total	Average Persons per house-hold	Percent Single Person
Hardeman	23,873	36.5	31.8	14.1	29.9	5,979	3.52	7,623	3.00	20.3
Hardin	22,280	4.4	28.9	13.6	32.4	6,470	3.17	7,970	2.77	18.1
Hawkins	43,751	1.9	29.5	10.6	31.1	12,607	3.23	15,288	2.86	16.6
Haywood	20,318	54.7	33.3	14.7	28.2	5,177	3.63	6,513	3.10	19.6
Henderson	21,390	8.9	28.8	13.6	31.7	6,247	3.15	7,686	2.76	18.1
Henry	28,656	13.2	26.0	17.3	35.0	8,350	3.07	10,914	2.60	22.2
Hickman	15,151	5.4	27.9	12.1	31.0	4,172	3.23	5,094	2.84	17.3
Houston	6,871	4.8	28.9	14.8	32.4	1,980	3.21	2,410	2.83	16.9
Humphreys	15,957	3.9	30.1	12.5	31.6	4,519	3.24	5,634	2.82	18.7
Jackson	9,398	0.2	27.6	15.1	33.7	2,738	3.17	3,363	2.78	18.0
Jefferson	31,284	2.9	27.1	11.4	31.2	8,702	3.18	10,623	2.81	16.8
Johnson	13,745	0.6	29.4	13.2	32.0	4,010	3.20	4,840	2.83	16.2
Knox	319,694	8.4	25.2	11.2	30.0	85,441	3.14	117,951	2.61	23.1
Lake	7,455	23.3	29.9	15.1	31.7	1,989	3.34	2,575	2.84	20.7
Lauderdale	24,555	33.7	30.5	14.1	30.1	6,395	3.38	8,281	2.86	21.5
Lawrence	34,110	1.5	30.1	13.0	31.2	9,621	3.26	11,867	2.85	18.2
Lewis	9,700	1.6	32.4	11.7	29.3	2,486	3.25	3,055	2.84	17.8
Lincoln	26,483	10.0	27.6	13.8	33.6	7,648	3.17	9,533	2.75	18.9
Loudon	28,553	1.5	26.9	13.2	33.1	8,265	3.15	10,289	2.75	18.7
McMinn	41,878	4.9	29.0	11.9	31.4	11,947	3.22	14,727	2.81	18.1
McNairy	22,525	6.4	28.2	14.2	33.2	6,575	3.14	8,179	2.73	19.7
Macon	15,700	0.4	28.5	13.5	32.2	14,609	3.13	5,645	2.75	11.3
Madison	74,546	31.1	28.5	13.1	29.7	19,962	3.24	26,713	2.71	23.0
Marion	24,416	4.5	30.6	11.3	30.3	6,800	3.33	8,270	2.93	17.2
Marshall	19,698	10.0	27.5	15.3	33.6	5,612	3.17	7,144	2.72	20.4
Maury	51,095	16.6	28.4	12.7	31.5	14,306	3.23	18,180	2.78	19.7
Meigs	7,431	1.9	31.4	9.2	30.1	2,099	3.32	2,520	2.95	15.9
Monroe	28,700	3.1	30.6	11.6	30.3	7,947	3.32	9,637	2.93	16.8
Montgomery	83,342	16.9	28.6	7.6	25.7	21,995	3.27	27,198	2.87	16.3
Moore	4,510	4.6	30.1	11.9	31.7	1,305	3.25	1,534	2.94	14.3
Morgan	16,604	0.7	31.1	11.1	29.6	4,485	3.38	5,389	3.00	15.7
Obion	32,781	9.5	28.5	15.0	32.5	9,308	3.18	12,079	2.70	21.5
Overton	17,575	0.3	29.1	13.3	32.5	5,095	3.21	6,122	2.85	16.1
Perry	6,111	2.3	27.8	15.5	34.1	1,785	3.13	2,240	2.71	20.0
Pickett	4,358	--	28.2	15.2	32.8	1,282	3.18	1,542	2.82	16.7
Polk	13,602	--	31.2	11.0	30.9	3,428	3.33	4,607	2.95	16.4
Putnam	47,690	1.6	24.6	11.4	28.4	12,797	3.09	16,706	2.65	16.9
Rhea	24,235	2.5	30.4	11.2	29.2	6,684	3.27	8,285	2.85	18.4
Roane	48,425	3.2	28.9	10.8	32.1	13,933	3.21	17,078	2.82	17.4
Robertson	37,021	13.4	30.0	12.4	30.4	10,317	3.32	12,532	2.93	16.5

TABLE 11

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTIES
(Continued)

	Persons					Families		Households		
		Percent								
	Total	Per-cent Black	Percent Under 18 years	Percent 65 years and over	Median age	Total	Average Persons per Family	Total	Average Persons per house-hold	Percent Single Person
Rutherford	84,058	10.2	28.4	8.5	27.1	21,778	3.30	28,002	2.84	18.3
Scott	19,259	--	34.1	10.7	27.6	5,132	3.51	6,200	3.09	16.5
Sequatchie	8,605	0.2	31.7	10.7	29.4	2,409	3.30	2,891	2.93	15.8
Sevier	41,418	0.4	28.2	11.0	31.3	12,073	3.16	14,741	2.79	16.3
Shelby	777,113	36.8	29.7	9.4	27.9	197,005	3.40	269,186	2.81	23.0
Smith	14,935	4.0	27.5	14.7	32.6	4,404	3.13	5,392	2.76	17.3
Stewart	8,665	1.5	26.7	15.9	35.1	2,583	3.14	3,104	2.79	16.3
Sullivan	143,968	1.8	27.5	10.5	32.5	41,822	3.15	52,022	2.75	18.2
Sumner	85,790	5.9	31.7	8.8	29.6	24,027	3.33	28,557	2.99	14.4
Tipton	32,930	32.4	33.0	11.3	28.4	8,706	3.51	10,778	3.04	18.2
Trousdale	6,137	14.6	27.0	12.9	31.7	1,770	3.15	2,227	2.73	18.8
Unicoi	16,362	--	26.7	13.5	33.7	14,823	3.13	5,948	2.74	18.2
Union	11,707	--	30.6	10.7	29.6	3,325	3.32	3,947	2.96	14.9
Van Buren	4,728	0.1	31.0	10.2	29.7	1,358	3.29	1,590	2.97	13.9
Warren	32,653	3.7	29.0	12.4	31.4	9,423	3.17	11,869	2.74	19.7
Washington	88,755	3.4	26.3	11.1	30.4	23,745	3.19	31,191	2.71	20.7
Wayne	13,946	1.2	30.5	12.3	30.7	3,933	3.27	4,792	2.88	17.3
Weakley	32,896	6.3	23.9	15.3	30.2	8,859	3.04	11,567	2.60	20.5
White	19,567	2.2	27.9	14.4	33.0	4,368	3.16	6,988	2.78	17.6
Williamson	58,108	9.0	31.8	8.5	30.9	16,208	3.38	18,723	3.08	11.9
Wilson	56,064	8.7	30.7	9.9	30.7	15,710	3.31	18,863	2.94	13.4

*Calculated for the Tennessee portion of the MSAs only. Data for other states not available to CBER at time of writing. Percentages for total MSA will be lower since central counties have largest percent.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, General Population Characteristics, Tables 14, 24, 47.

County Summary

With regard to racial composition, almost all of Tennessee's counties have a slightly smaller percentage of black population than in 1970. The exceptions are the central counties of metropolitan areas.

Although the state's counties exhibit a wide variety of demographic characteristics, there do appear to be some patterns that describe groups of them. The rural counties of West Tennessee exhibit two different kinds of patterns, depending on the racial composition. While most have relatively high fertility rates and a relatively high percentage of population below 18 years of age (implying larger families and larger average household size), this pattern is much more marked in the counties with the highest population of blacks. Most West Tennessee counties tend to have a higher proportion of elderly population as well. However, in heavily black counties the proportion of children to adults brings county median age levels below that of the state, while in the others, median age is often well above that of the state.

The state's median age is 30.1 years, and of the 16 counties with a median age above 33.0 years, seven are rural counties west of the Tennessee River; seven are rural counties in Middle Tennessee; and two are in East Tennessee. Many of the elderly live alone, and in rural counties where a high proportion of the population lives alone, well over one-half are older than 65, and as many as two-thirds are women. The central counties of metropolitan areas also have high proportions of the population living alone, but the pattern is different: typically, fewer than one-half are female, and fewer than one-half are older than 65 years of age.

Although slower growing rural counties are characterized by large family sizes and large proportions of the population below 18 years of age, these characteristics are present to a lesser extent in the fastest growing counties. As we noted in Chapter 1, such counties are generally suburbs of metropolitan counties or counties adjacent to these suburbs. Here, although there are above-average proportions of population below 18 years of age, there are generally lower-than-average proportions of children under 5. These counties are apparently more family-oriented, tend to have a smaller percentage of people who live alone, and tend to be the ones with the lowest proportions of people above 65 years of age. These faster growing counties tend to have below-average percentages of blacks in the population.

Economic Changes

Significant improvements in Tennessee's educational accomplishments have occurred over the decade, although the education of Tennessee's adults is still far below the level for the United States. The median level of school years completed by U.S. adults in 1980 was 12.5, compared to 12.2 for Tennessee. Of Tennessee's adults, 43.8 percent had not completed high school, while only 33.6 percent of U.S. adults had failed to complete high school. At the other end of the educational spectrum, nearly 32 percent of U.S. adults had completed at least one year of college, while in Tennessee the comparable figure was 24.5 percent. Table 12 presents data on education for 1970 and 1980.

TABLE 12

PERCENT OF ADULTS 25 YEARS OR MORE BY FINAL YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

	Tennessee	
Years Completed	1980	1970
0-8 Years	27.7	40.0
1-3 Years High School	16.1	18.3
4 Years High School	31.7	25.7
1-3 Years College	11.9	8.2
4 or More Years College	12.6	7.9
	United States	
	1980	1970
0-8 Years	18.3	28.3
1-3 Years High School	15.3	19.4
4 Years High School	34.6	31.1
1-3 Years College	15.6	10.7
4 or More Years College		
Median	12.5	12.1

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 46.

The phenomenon of increasing female participation in the labor force has been a remarkable one both nationally and within Tennessee, and the momentum of the 60s has been maintained through the past decade. In 1970, 41 percent of Tennessee's women were in the labor force; by 1980 that number had increased to almost 49 percent. As a result the composition of the labor force has changed, and by 1980, 42.6 percent of the labor force was female.

Male participation rates have remained essentially stable over the decade. It is interesting to note in Table 13 that there has been a disproportionate increase in the labor force participation of women with children under 6 years of age. While the number of women with children under 6 increased by 5.5 percent over the decade, the number of such women in the labor force increased by almost 42 percent. More than half of women with children under age 6 were in the labor force in 1980.

TABLE 13

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF POPULATION 16 YEARS AND OVER

	Population 16 Years and Over			Percent of Males		Percent of Females	
	1980	1970	Percentage Change 1970-80	1980	1970	1980	1970
Armed Forces	25,238	25,192	0.2	1.4	1.9	0.1	*
Civilian Labor Force	2,067,882	1,526,055	35.5	71.9	71.9	48.8	41.1
Not in Labor Force	1,369,235	1,191,176	14.9	26.7	26.1	51.1	58.9
Total Population 16 Years and Over	3,462,355	2,742,423	26.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Labor Force	2,093,120	1,551,247					
Males as Percent of Total	57.4	61.6					
Females as Percent of Total	42.6	38.4					
Females 16 Years and Over With Own Children Under 6	281,115	266,439	5.5				
In Labor Force	143,252	101,075	41.7				
Percent in Labor Force	51.0	37.9					
With Own Children 6-17	365,756	295,061	51.7				
In Labor Force	231,926	152,549	52.0				
Percent in Labor Force	51.8	51.7					

[*] Less than 0.05

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

The decennial Census provides occupational data that are not available from any other source, with respect to both occupational detail and geographic coverage.[5] Abbreviated occupational data for counties and places can be found on Summary Tape File 3, while the specially prepared EEO tape provides more than 500 occupational categories by race and sex for all counties and places of 50,000 or more people. A look at the occupations of Tennesseans in 1970 and 1980[6] reveals evidence of a distinct structural shift--one that has been occurring over a long period of time and across the country. Table 14 shows the relative increases or decreases

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN PERSONS
BY OCCUPATION, 1970 TO 1980

Executive/Administrative/Managerial	36.3
Professional Specialties	43.4
Technicians and Related Support	121.0
Sales	71.9
Administrative Support, Including Clerical	46.5
Service, Including Domestic	35.3
Farming/Forestry/Fishing	-17.8
Precision Production/Craft/Repair	34.4
Machine Operators, Assemblers, Inspectors	11.1
Transportation/Materials Moving	32.6
Handlers/Cleaners/Helpers/Laborers	31.0
Total Labor Force Change	34.9

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

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[5] The Tennessee Department of Employment Security has published some occupational data for Tennessee counties between Censuses for use in affirmative action programs.

[6] Occupational comparisons between 1970 and 1980 require care, since some definitions were changed. Data can be regrouped to allow consistent comparisons.

that have occurred. By far the largest increases have been among technicians and related support occupations, followed by sales occupations.

Counties

Although educational levels have increased everywhere, it has traditionally been true that the highest levels of education are found in Metropolitan areas, especially central counties. In Tennessee, 12 of the 15 highest ranked counties were metropolitan counties, and the rankings have shown little change since 1970. The clustered rankings at the low end in Table 15 indicate the extent to which the college-educated population is geographically concentrated.

The education data in Table 16 include the ranks of each county by the percent of its adult population completing college. The percentage of adults completing college in the highest ranking counties is three to four times as high as the percentage in the lower ranking counties. Low levels of completed college education, however, tend to be the rule in Tennessee, whether compared to the United States average of 16.2 percent or the Tennessee average of 12.6 percent. Indeed, 82 of Tennessee's 95 counties fall below the state average, and 39 counties are less than half the state average.

Not surprisingly, counties with high proportions of college-educated population tend to have high proportions of females in the labor force--that is, metropolitan counties. However, in Tennessee, rural counties with apparel or assembly manufacturing operations also provide employment opportunities for females. In 1980, 60 percent of Van Buren County females were in the labor force--the highest proportion in the state. Counties with the lowest female participation rates tend to be East Tennessee border counties or West Tennessee counties. Table 15 shows the contrast in female labor force participation rates between the counties with the 10 highest and 10 lowest participation rates. Table 17 provides 1980 labor force data for all Tennessee counties.

In 1980, 25 percent of Tennessee's workers worked outside the county in which they lived, although the proportions of outside commuting was extremely variable across counties. Counties which are employment centers, including, of course, the central counties of MSA's, have low rates of commuting out, whereas very small counties or counties adjacent to employment centers have high rates. Shelby, Davidson, and Hamilton Counties each had less than 6 percent of their resident workers employed outside the county, while Union and Cheatham, adjacent to Knox and Davidson, respectively, each had more than 60 percent of their resident work force at work outside the county. Table 18 provides data for out-of-county and out-of-state workers by county.

Income

As education levels increase, more females enter the labor force, and as the availability of jobs shifts away from blue collar jobs toward white collar jobs, income levels for Tennesseeans should also rise. Measured in current dollars, median family in-

TABLE 15

FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR COUNTIES WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST RATES

Lowest	
Scott	31.5
Hancock	32.7
Houston	33.5
Grundy	34.6
Campbell	35.1
Morgan	35.8
Marion	36.0
Hawkins	37.8
Claiborne	38.2
Stewart	39.1
Highest	
Van Buren	60.2
Davidson	55.4
Trousdale	55.2
Rutherford	53.7
Williamson	53.5
Wilson	52.6
Shelby	52.1
Bradley	51.9
Lewis	51.9
Bedford	51.8

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

TABLE 16

FINAL YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY ADULTS 25 YEARS AND OVER, 1970 AND 1980

	Percent Completing High School*		Percent Completing College			
County	1980	1970	1980	Rank**	1970	Rank**
Anderson	32.1	29.2	18.2	4	14.5	1
Bedford	32.5	27.8	7.5	36/37/38	5.2	27
Benton	34.4	21.8	5.5	75/76/77	3.2	65/68
Bledsoe	28.9	18.4	5.9	65/66/67	2.7	82/83/84
Blount	33.4	27.9	11.3	16	7.9	16
Bradley	29.8	24.5	10.5	18	5.4	24
Campbell	24.3	14.2	6.1	57/63	3.0	73/79
Cannon	31.5	20.0	6.1	57/63	2.7	82/83/84
Carroll	27.6	20.9	7.2	40/41/42	4.0	42/45
Carter	28.9	24.1	8.2	27	5.5	22/23
Cheatham	34.2	25.7	6.6	52	3.0	73/79
Chester	27.6	16.7	7.7	33/34/35	3.7	50/54
Claiborne	25.5	16.6	6.9	44/45/46	4.2	38/39
Clay	25.4	12.6	5.3	78/79/80	3.8	49
Cooke	28.8	19.0	5.3	78/79/80	2.7	82/83/84

TABLE 16

FINAL YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY ADULTS 25 YEARS AND OVER, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

County	Percent Completing High School*		Percent Completing College			
	1980	1970	1980	Rank**	1970	Rank**
Coffee	31.2	27.3	13.3	11	10.8	4
Crockett	32.0	22.8	5.5	75/76/77	3.3	63/64
Cumberland	28.1	17.5	8.6	26	4.6	35/36
Davidson	31.6	28.8	19.5	2	12.1	2
Decatur	29.9	19.2	4.9	87	3.1	69/72
DeKalb	27.3	19.1	6.1	57/63	3.4	61/62
Dickson	33.9	22.7	7.5	36/37/38	3.3	63/64
Dyer	26.8	19.4	6.6	52	3.9	46/47/48
Fayette	27.6	14.1	6.9	44/45/46	4.0	42/45
Fentress	23.4	11.8	6.5	55/56	3.5	56/60
Franklin	31.9	26.6	10.1	19	8.0	13/14/15
Gibson	31.5	25.2	6.6	53/54	4.9	30/31
Giles	32.7	23.7	7.0	43	4.6	35/36
Grainger	25.0	16.6	4.1	91/92	2.3	90/91
Greene	30.3	23.3	8.9	24	5.5	22/23
Grundy	22.8	14.8	4.8	88	1.3	95
Hamblen	30.8	26.1	9.2	22/23	6.4	19
Hamilton	32.9	29.3	15.5	6	10.2	5
Hancock	21.1	10.3	4.2	90	3.0	73/79
Hardeman	26.7	18.4	5.5	75/76/77	3.5	56/60
Hardin	32.3	20.9	5.1	82/83	3.7	50/54
Hawkins	33.4	22.6	6.1	49/50/51	3.2	65/68
Haywood	26.4	14.8	7.9	31	4.8	32/33
Henderson	30.6	17.7	5.3	78/79/80	3.0	73/79
Henry	32.5	24.7	6.9	44/45/46	3.6	55
Hickman	28.8	17.6	5.2	81	2.5	87
Houston	31.8	19.0	7.7	33/34/35	3.5	56/60
Humphreys	36.2	27.1	7.5	36/37/38	4.9	30/31
Jackson	21.6	10.3	5.6	71/74	1.7	92
Jefferson	32.1	24.7	8.1	28/29/30	5.7	21
Johnson	25.4	17.3	4.1	91/92	3.5	56/60
Knox	31.3	28.6	18.8	3	11.4	3
Lake	20.0	14.4	6.1	57/63	3.5	56/60
Lauderdale	29.1	15.4	5.6	71/74	3.9	46/47/48
Lawrence	29.8	20.7	6.1	57/63	2.3	90/91
Lewis	31.3	21.0	8.1	28/29/30	3.1	69/72
Lincoln	32.1	24.2	7.4	39	4.8	32/33
Loudon	33.2	24.3	6.7	49/50/51	3.7	50/54
McMinn	30.0	24.0	7.8	32	5.1	27/28/29
McNairy	33.0	20.4	5.0	84/85/86	3.2	65/68
Macon	26.2	13.4	4.5	89	2.4	88/89
Madison	31.7	25.2	12.8	13	8.3	12
Marion	28.2	19.7	5.6	71/74	3.9	46/47/48
Marshall	34.2	25.6	7.2	40/41/42	4.0	42/45
Maury	33.3	26.4	8.8	25	5.3	26

TABLE 16

FINAL YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY ADULTS 25 YEARS AND OVER, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Percent Completing High School*		Percent Completing College			
County	1980	1970	1980	Rank**	1970	Rank**
Meigs	29.1	17.5	5.8	68/69	2.6	85/86
Monroe	32.9	21.2	9.2	22/23	3.1	69/72
Montgomery	37.2	28.9	14.5	9	9.1	10/11
Moore	25.4	16.2	6.0	64	3.7	50/54
Morgan	31.9	22.2	3.9	93/94	3.0	73/79
Obion	36.1	24.9	7.2	40/41/42	5.1	27/28/29
Overton	24.8	12.7	5.9	65/66/67	3.0	73/79
Perry	32.5	18.9	3.9	93/94	2.6	85/86
Pickett	25.0	13.8	5.8	68/69	4.0	42/45
Polk	28.5	21.9	6.1	57/63	4.1	40/41
Putnam	25.9	17.8	14.1	10	8.0	13/14/15
Rhea	30.4	23.5	8.1	28/29/30	4.5	37
Roane	32.0	24.9	10.6	16	6.8	17
Robertson	36.7	26.5	6.8	46/47	4.2	38/39
Rutherford	35.3	27.8	14.8	8	10.0	6
Scott	28.1	12.9	5.1	82/83	3.2	65/68
Sequatchie	28.5	22.1	5.7	70	2.8	80/81
Sevier	31.2	22.0	9.3	20	4.7	34
Shelby	33.9	30.2	15.9	5	9.9	7
Smith	29.9	19.3	6.1	57/63	3.7	50/54
Stewart	30.3	17.4	5.6	71/74	3.1	69/72
Sullivan	31.7	27.8	13.2	12	9.1	10/11
Sumner	35.7	26.6	11.8	14	6.7	18
Tipton	32.7	21.1	5.9	65/66/67	3.4	61/62
Trousdale	28.6	16.3	6.8	47/48	3.0	73/79
Unicoi	27.7	20.0	7.7	33/34/35	5.1	27/28/29
Union	28.8	14.1	2.8	95	1.6	93/94
Van Buren	28.6	16.4	5.0	84/85/86	1.6	93/94
Warren	33.8	24.5	6.7	49/50/51	4.1	40/41
Washington	28.5	23.2	15.0	7	9.4	9
Wayne	28.7	17.6	5.0	84/85/86	2.4	88/89
Weakley	27.3	21.4	9.8	20	5.9	20
White	29.6	18.7	6.5	55/56	2.8	80/81
Williamson	30.2	26.3	23.6	1	9.8	8
Wilson	37.7	26.9	11.7	15	8.0	13/14/15

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*These adults completed 4 years of high school but did not complete any years of college. Data are also provided, in the summary tapes, for adults completing less than 4 years of high school and college.

**Multiple numbers represent ties in rank; for example, 36/37/38 indicates that three counties are tied for rank 36. Notation 65/68 indicates that four counties tied for rank 65.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

TABLE 17

LABOR FORCE[*] PARTICIPATION, 1970 AND 1980

	Labor Force as a Percentage of Total Population		Percent of Females in the Labor Force		Females as a Percentage of Labor Force	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Anderson	59.1	54.6	47.0	35.0	41.8	33.9
Bedford	63.2	60.6	51.8	46.7	43.5	40.8
Benton	53.2	52.5	40.6	37.6	21.6	37.6
Bledsoe	55.2	44.5	47.4	31.6	42.2	34.4
Blount	57.0	53.1	42.7	33.7	39.3	33.1
Bradley	63.8	62.9	51.9	47.5	42.9	39.6
Campbell	49.1	40.0	35.1	26.7	38.0	35.9
Cannon	59.9	55.0	48.2	41.5	42.1	39.4
Carroll	57.2	57.9	48.6	45.9	45.1	41.8
Carter	56.5	51.4	43.9	34.5	40.9	35.1
Cheatham	63.6	56.2	49.1	35.7	38.8	31.9
Chester	56.1	52.9	47.9	65.4	45.0	40.6
Claiborne	50.6	43.2	38.2	29.2	39.0	35.2
Clay	56.2	49.6	50.2	36.6	46.1	38.4
Cocke	55.7	52.4	42.4	34.3	39.5	34.3
Coffee	61.8	57.8	48.1	39.1	40.6	35.5
Crockett	55.4	52.2	44.2	39.5	42.5	40.0
Cumberland	54.6	50.2	42.4	35.3	40.3	36.5
Davidson	64.7	60.1	55.4	46.1	46.0	41.3
Decatur	56.5	56.5	47.9	47.2	44.0	43.1
DeKalb	58.6	59.7	48.1	46.2	43.1	40.8
Dickson	61.0	57.2	48.9	41.5	42.2	37.9
Dyer	58.5	59.5	47.5	46.9	43.6	42.3
Fayette	53.2	49.9	42.0	34.4	41.2	36.1
Fentress	51.6	49.3	42.6	39.0	42.7	40.6
Franklin	57.9	54.7	44.3	40.4	39.4	37.5
Gibson	56.5	58.7	46.0	47.3	44.0	43.4
Giles	60.3	55.3	48.9	39.2	42.9	37.5
Grainger	54.8	51.1	39.7	29.1	37.4	29.3
Greene	58.7	56.9	47.6	40.2	42.5	37.1
Grundy	51.1	47.8	34.6	31.2	35.1	33.8
Hamblen	62.1	59.8	49.8	40.2	42.1	35.4
Hamilton	61.6	58.5	50.0	43.2	43.5	40.3
Hancock	45.2	36.1	32.7	18.2	37.6	26.1
Hardeman	52.7	46.8	43.4	35.2	43.9	40.1
Hardin	57.3	54.5	45.1	41.4	40.9	39.4
Hawkins	53.9	50.0	37.8	27.2	36.1	28.5
Haywood	54.0	50.4	44.0	35.8	44.1	38.0
Henderson	59.6	53.4	48.6	38.2	42.7	37.4
Henry	55.9	53.7	46.6	39.2	44.1	38.7
Hickman	56.6	51.8	48.1	34.0	41.6	33.8
Houston	49.3	48.5	33.5	27.8	34.3	29.5
Humphreys	56.6	51.1	40.7	31.0	37.3	31.5
Jackson	55.3	47.6	43.3	33.1	40.4	36.2
Jefferson	57.9	54.7	45.9	38.3	41.3	36.9

TABLE 17

LABOR FORCE* PARTICIPATION, 1970 AND 1980 (Continued)

	Labor Force as a Percentage of Total Population		Percent of Females in the Labor Force		Females as a Percentage of Labor Force	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Johnson	55.3	51.3	47.0	37.4	44.3	37.7
Knox	60.4	54.1	49.5	39.9	43.4	39.6
Lake	51.1	54.2	40.9	40.0	42.8	39.4
Lauderdale	52.9	47.6	44.3	35.8	43.0	38.6
Lawrence	58.4	51.2	45.8	34.7	41.1	35.7
Lewis	61.8	55.1	51.9	39.7	43.5	38.9
Lincoln	61.7	58.3	50.0	44.1	42.5	40.1
Loudon	60.0	56.9	47.5	42.5	41.8	39.4
McMinn	59.8	56.4	46.0	41.1	40.7	38.6
McNairy	55.9	51.0	45.2	37.7	42.2	38.6
Macon	61.0	57.6	50.2	43.4	42.3	39.1
Madison	60.2	55.2	49.6	42.2	44.7	41.7
Marion	50.8	49.8	36.0	29.9	36.6	31.2
Marshall	61.6	59.0	50.2	42.9	43.8	38.6
Maury	61.5	58.5	48.8	41.6	42.3	37.7
Meigs	57.7	54.2	42.9	39.4	37.6	37.0
Monroe	62.2	64.8	48.4	48.2	39.0	37.5
Montgomery	65.2	62.9	48.9	39.3	37.0	28.1
Moore	57.4	53.6	43.7	38.8	39.6	37.7
Morgan	48.1	43.1	35.8	31.3	36.9	35.4
Obion	58.7	57.4	47.0	42.2	42.7	39.2
Overton	56.8	50.9	47.6	38.7	43.4	39.2
Perry	55.8	53.2	46.8	41.1	43.7	40.0
Pickett	53.7	47.9	47.4	38.5	45.1	41.5
Polk	54.7	51.9	41.4	32.5	38.8	32.5
Putnam	57.7	51.0	49.5	40.7	43.8	40.4
Rhea	59.0	52.7	47.7	40.3	42.0	40.4
Roane	58.5	58.0	44.8	42.9	40.0	39.3
Robertson	54.9	41.1	48.8	36.6	41.1	12.4
Rutherford	64.7	55.5	53.7	41.3	42.7	38.4
Scott	46.2	45.2	31.5	31.7	35.4	36.8
Sequatchie	54.0	51.1	40.1	33.3	38.2	34.0
Sevier	61.5	56.9	49.6	40.1	41.8	36.6
Shelby	62.9	59.9	52.1	44.4	44.1	39.4
Smith	59.4	59.9	45.6	42.8	39.6	36.9
Stewart	51.3	47.4	39.1	29.0	38.7	30.9
Sullivan	59.4	56.9	45.6	38.1	40.4	35.5
Sumner	65.0	60.6	50.9	42.0	40.4	36.1
Tipton	57.1	51.6	43.4	32.5	39.6	33.0
Trousdale	66.5	63.6	55.2	48.1	41.8	39.5

TABLE 17

LABOR FORCE* PARTICIPATION, 1970 AND 1980 (Continued)

	Labor Force as a Percentage of Total Population		Percent of Females in the Labor Force		Females as a Percentage of Labor Force	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Unicoi	54.9	50.9	41.3	32.9	39.1	34.1
Union	56.4	52.3	42.0	32.1	37.8	31.4
Van Buren	66.8	59.2	60.2	46.6	45.9	39.9
Warren	60.9	60.0	47.4	44.2	40.8	38.9
Washington	59.7	52.5	46.9	37.8	41.0	36.7
Wayne	57.6	55.2	45.7	42.6	40.8	39.7
Weakley	54.8	52.5	46.5	41.3	44.3	40.7
White	60.7	55.4	51.4	43.2	44.5	41.1
Williamson	67.5	59.1	41.0	35.3	53.5	40.5
Wilson	65.1	59.7	52.6	43.1	41.9	37.9

*Labor Force is defined as persons 16 years and older who are in the armed forces or employed in civilian occupations, or unemployed but looking for work.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

come in 1979 was $16,572--a 122 percent increase over 1969. The census income figures are, of course, in current dollars. Adjusting 1979 dollars for inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index brings the real median family income to $8,368--an increase in real terms of 12.4 percent over 1969. As Table 19 shows, the real increase in United States median family income was less.

Table 20 provides income data for Metropolitan Statistical Areas and counties, and Table 21 shows the 10 counties with the

TABLE 18

WORKERS EMPLOYED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, 1980

	Total Workers	Percent Commuting Out of County*	Percent Commuting Out of State
Anderson	25,865	24.8	0.9
Bedford	11,250	18.0	0.3
Benton	5,239	35.1	1.5
Bledsoe	3,357	33.8	1.5
Blount	28,950	32.0	1.1
Bradley	26,753	11.1	3.5
Campbell	9,621	16.7	4.3
Cannon	3,731	34.0	0.6
Carroll	10,488	29.1	1.2
Carter	18,165	39.6	4.6
Cheatham	8,021	60.8	1.1
Chester	4,557	35.3	1.3
Claiborne	7,768	10.0	22.1
Clay	2,647	32.8	4.2
Cocke	9,052	22.9	2.4
Coffee	14,678	14.9	1.1
Crockett	5,236	38.2	0.4
Cumberland	9,196	14.9	1.4
Davidson	203,005	4.5	1.0
Decatur	3,954	23.1	2.5
DeKalb	5,372	27.9	0.5
Dickson	10,949	34.6	1.6
Dyer	12,721	5.8	1.5
Fayette	7,780	42.2	1.9
Fentress	4,414	12.6	1.7
Franklin	11,017	27.7	3.5
Gibson	18,012	17.9	0.5
Giles	9,038	12.2	5.5
Grainger	5,708	56.9	0.2
Greene	20,817	9.6	0.6
Grundy	3,772	46.6	2.0
Hamblen	19,078	13.1	1.0
Hamilton	113,562	2.1	3.8
Hancock	2,067	39.3	5.9
Hardeman	7,049	13.8	3.0
Hardin	7,569	15.2	8.0
Hawkins	15,081	47.4	2.6
Haywood	6,206	26.8	0.8
Henderson	7,311	23.5	2.0
Henry	10,291	7.4	2.3
Hickman	5,152	40.0	0.8
Houston	2,038	43.4	3.2
Humphreys	5,731	15.1	0.5
Jackson	2,781	38.5	1.4
Jefferson	11,472	42.6	0.2

TABLE 18

WORKERS EMPLOYED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, 1980 (Continued)

	Total Workers	Percent Commuting Out of County*	Percent Commuting Out of State
Johnson	4,283	7.1	10.6
Knox	130,554	10.2	0.7
Lake	2,215	22.9	1.1
Lauderdale	7,672	12.0	1.5
Lawrence	11,830	8.2	4.9
Lewis	3,429	16.4	0.3
Lincoln	10,157	12.4	12.9
Loudon	10,708	38.2	0.7
McMinn	15,892	16.0	1.0
McNairy	7,672	13.7	16.0
Macon	5,770	31.6	1.8
Madison	28,529	6.0	0.1
Marion	7,555	40.1	9.1
Marshall	7,278	11.7	0.6
Maury	19,284	10.5	0.5
Meigs	2,389	51.2	0.3
Monroe	1,791	52.3	1.2
Montgomery	34,700	4.7	36.5
Moore	9,192	39.0	0.8
Morgan	4,836	46.1	1.8
Obion	11,898	8.3	6.1
Overton	5,714	25.1	0.4
Perry	2,123	31.3	0.0
Pickett	1,461	17.4	2.4
Polk	4,307	35.7	12.8
Putnam	17,821	8.7	1.0
Rhea	8,422	15.8	1.1
Roane	17,380	37.6	1.0
Robertson	13,773	37.5	2.9
Rutherford	33,548	26.9	0.3
Scott	4,916	9.7	3.1
Sequatchie	2,772	43.4	0.3
Sevier	15,259	31.0	1.1
Shelby	296,198	0.5	2.8
Smith	5,552	33.3	0.6
Stewart	2,446	25.3	9.0
Sullivan	54,795	7.8	10.7
Sumner	32,462	46.7	2.8
Tipton	10,737	47.0	1.5
Trousdale	2,706	20.6	0.1
Unicoi	5,763	26.7	4.3
Union	4,008	68.1	0.7
Van Buren	2,080	50.9	0.0
Warren	12,704	9.8	0.7
Washington	35,194	21.8	1.5

TABLE 18

WORKERS EMPLOYED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, 1980 (Continued)

	Total Workers	Percent Commuting Out of County*	Percent Commuting Out of State
Wayne	4,860	22.1	12.3
Weakley	11,938	18.8	2.0
White	7,852	18.1	0.3
Williamson	24,245	52.8	1.0
Wilson	22,950	45.8	0.7

*Excluding those commuting outside state boundaries.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

highest median family incomes and the 10 with the lowest. The highest incomes are, without exception, in the central counties of the largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas, or the Nashville suburban counties, while the East Tennessee border counties (with a few West Tennessee counties) dominate the lower end of the scale. Williamson's median family income was 142 percent of the state average, while Hancock was less than one-half the state average. Like several of these counties, Hancock remains at the lowest end of the state's income spectrum, despite extremely high rates of increase.

The decennial Censuses provide the only detailed data on poverty levels for substate areas. The data allow us to determine the number of persons, families, children, and so on, below the

TABLE 19

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AND PER CAPITA INCOME, 1969 AND 1979

	1979	1979 Adjusted	1969	Percent Change in Real Income 1970-1980
Tennessee Median Family Income	$16,572	$ 8,368	7,447	12.4
U.S. Median Family Income	19,917	10,058	9,590	4.9
Ratio U.S. to Tennessee	1.4	1.4	1.3	
Tennessee Per Capita Income	$ 6,233	3,148	2,469	27.5
U.S. Per Capita Income	7,314	3,694	3,139	17.7
Ratio U.S. to Tennessee	1.2	1.2	1.3	

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Characteristics for Governmental Units and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Table 4; Summary Tape File 3; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Tables 47 and 57.

poverty line.[7] A comparison of the poverty status of Tennessee's population in 1979 and 1969 is shown in Table 22. With the exception of persons 65 years and older, there are smaller proportions of every demographic group below the poverty level in 1979 than in 1969. Blacks and female-headed families have not improved

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[7] The poverty data come from answers to the questions on income level and family characteristics. The poverty threshold varies according to family size, age of the householder, and number of children. Thresholds are updated each year to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. The poverty threshold for a family of four in 1979 was $7,412.

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
Anderson	$18,754	9,471	8,558	10.7	7,438	3,756	2,783	35.0
Bedford	16,098	8,129	7,031	15.6	6,323	3,193	2,403	32.9
Benton	14,495	7,320	6,597	11.0	5,552	2,804	2,226	26.0
Bledsoe	12,218	6,170	4,738	30.2	4,495	2,270	1,486	52.8
Blount	17,466	8,820	7,898	11.7	6,544	3,305	2,523	31.0
Bradley	16,570	8,368	7,922	5.6	5,958	3,009	2,415	24.6
Campbell	12,079	6,100	4,389	39.0	4,530	2,288	1,521	50.4
Cannon	13,544	6,840	5,885	16.2	5,072	2,561	1,903	34.6
Carroll	14,197	7,169	6,762	6.0	5,306	2,680	2,286	17.2
Carter	13,240	6,686	6,195	7.9	4,923	2,486	2,057	20.9
Cheatham	18,524	9,355	7,646	22.3	7,007	3,539	2,300	53.8
Chester	14,847	7,498	5,445	37.7	4,913	2,481	1,877	32.2
Claiborne	10,705	5,406	4,266	26.7	4,253	2,148	1,537	39.7
Clay	10,301	5,202	3,701	40.6	4,176	2,109	1,415	49.0
Cocke	11,933	6,026	5,437	10.8	4,412	2,228	1,643	35.6
Coffee	16,516	8,341	7,677	8.6	6,153	3,107	2,492	24.7
Crockett	13,675	6,906	6,192	11.5	5,039	2,545	1,960	29.8
Cumberland	12,686	6,406	5,476	17.0	4,977	2,513	1,749	43.7
Davidson	19,733	9,965	9,473	5.2	7,579	3,827	3,173	20.6
Decatur	12,969	6,549	6,075	7.8	5,049	2,550	2,106	21.1

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
DeKalb	12,453	6,289	5,782	8.8	5,522	2,789	1,994	39.9
Dickson	16,698	8,432	7,001	20.4	6,044	3,052	2,234	36.6
Dyer	14,480	7,312	6,598	10.8	5,556	2,806	2,231	25.8
Fayette	12,848	6,488	4,205	54.3	4,299	2,171	1,290	68.3
Fentress	9,438	4,766	3,937	21.1	3,564	1,800	1,264	42.4
Franklin	15,576	7,866	6,599	19.2	5,544	2,800	2,108	32.8
Gibson	14,907	7,528	6,747	11.6	5,461	2,758	2,295	20.2
Giles	15,020	7,585	5,943	27.6	5,434	2,744	2,001	37.1
Grainger	12,104	6,113	5,086	20.2	4,403	2,224	1,641	35.5
Greene	14,544	7,345	6,182	18.8	5,216	2,634	1,945	35.4
Grundy	11,827	5,973	4,183	42.8	4,716	2,382	1,323	80.0
Hamblen	15,325	7,739	7,219	7.2	5,607	2,832	2,327	21.7
Hamilton	18,608	9,397	8,609	9.2	6,955	3,512	2,863	22.7
Hancock	7,830	3,954	2,683	47.4	3,054	1,542	1,045	47.6
Hardeman	12,617	6,372	5,608	13.6	4,412	2,228	1,653	34.8
Hardin	13,246	6,689	5,511	21.4	5,003	2,527	1,914	32.0
Hawkins	14,723	7,435	6,300	18.0	5,187	2,619	1,921	36.4
Haywood	11,474	5,794	4,474	29.5	4,435	2,240	1,566	43.0
Henderson	13,978	7,059	5,689	24.1	5,060	2,555	1,896	34.8
Henry	14,092	7,116	5,980	19.0	5,628	2,842	2,186	30.0

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
Hickman	14,834	7,491	5,441	37.7	4,973	2,511	1,784	40.8
Houston	13,843	6,991	5,848	19.5	5,105	2,578	1,983	30.0
Humphreys	17,863	9,021	7,850	14.9	6,029	3,045	2,477	22.9
Jackson	11,752	5,935	3,916	51.6	4,692	2,369	1,473	60.9
Jefferson	14,236	7,189	6,295	14.2	5,042	2,546	1,994	27.7
Johnson	11,058	5,584	4,986	12.0	4,084	2,062	1,617	27.5
Knox	18,055	9,118	8,195	11.3	6,908	3,489	2,750	26.9
Lake	11,641	5,879	4,737	24.1	4,687	2,367	1,781	32.9
Lauderdale	13,113	6,622	4,357	52.0	4,554	2,300	1,555	47.9
Lawrence	15,156	7,654	5,788	32.2	5,321	2,687	1,866	44.0
Lewis	12,348	6,236	6,008	3.8	4,350	2,197	2,006	9.5
Lincoln	14,045	7,093	6,306	12.5	5,323	2,688	2,093	28.4
Loudon	16,263	8,213	6,900	19.0	6,027	3,044	2,252	35.2
McMinn	15,980	8,070	6,868	17.5	5,791	2,924	2,195	33.2
McNairy	13,515	6,825	5,145	32.7	4,968	2,509	1,775	41.3
Macon	14,393	7,268	4,854	49.7	5,575	2,815	1,755	60.4
Madison	17,118	8,645	7,308	18.3	6,089	3,075	2,334	31.7
Marion	14,901	7,525	6,118	23.0	5,317	2,685	1,855	44.7
Marshall	15,746	7,952	7,168	10.9	6,092	3,076	2,366	30.0
	16,999	8,584	7,251	18.4	6,186	3,124	2,302	35.7

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
Meigs	15,757	7,957	5,311	49.8	5,511	2,783	1,825	52.5
Monroe	13,497	6,816	5,921	15.1	4,970	2,510	1,808	38.8
Montgomery	15,699	7,928	7,220	9.8	5,727	2,892	2,339	23.6
Moore	15,928	8,044	6,404	25.6	5,531	2,793	1,976	41.4
Morgan	12,331	6,227	5,363	16.1	4,753	2,400	1,573	52.6
Obion	16,056	8,108	6,564	23.5	6,230	3,146	2,345	34.2
Overton	11,876	5,997	4,348	37.9	4,563	2,304	1,441	59.9
Perry	13,355	6,744	5,424	24.3	4,992	2,521	1,844	36.7
Pickett	10,107	5,104	4,612	10.7	3,873	1,956	1,475	32.6
Polk	13,972	7,056	6,678	5.7	4,661	2,354	2,061	14.2
Putnam	14,633	7,390	5,813	27.1	5,558	2,807	2,143	31.0
Rhea	14,682	7,414	5,705	30.0	5,115	2,583	1,857	39.1
Roane	17,594	8,885	7,401	20.1	6,286	3,174	2,293	38.4
Robertson	17,295	8,734	6,621	31.9	5,846	2,952	2,127	38.8
Rutherford	18,536	9,361	7,664	22.1	6,346	3,205	2,380	34.7
Scott	11,403	5,759	4,172	38.0	4,697	2,372	1,481	60.2
Sequatchie	12,636	6,381	6,111	4.4	4,563	2,304	1,792	28.6
Sevier	15,208	7,680	6,377	20.4	5,657	2,857	2,156	32.5
Shelby	18,193	9,187	8,671	6.0	6,706	3,387	2,762	22.6
Smith	15,963	8,061	5,737	40.5	5,812	2,935	2,126	38.1

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
Stewart	13,352	6,743	5,444	23.9	4,772	2,410	1,727	39.5
Sullivan	17,807	8,993	8,372	7.4	6,497	3,281	2,705	21.3
Sumner	19,918	10,059	8,208	22.5	6,833	3,451	2,626	31.4
Tipton	15,907	8,033	5,839	37.6	5,287	2,670	1,685	58.5
Trousdale	16,997	8,583	4,876	76.0	6,226	3,144	1,884	66.9
Unicoi	14,191	7,166	6,487	10.5	5,237	2,645	2,079	27.2
Union	12,142	6,132	5,005	22.5	4,399	2,221	1,548	43.5
Van Buren	12,258	6,190	6,014	2.9	4,903	2,476	1,785	38.7
Warren	14,042	7,091	6,464	9.7	5,269	2,661	2,156	23.4
Washington	16,495	8,330	7,259	14.8	6,414	3,239	2,448	32.3
Wayne	13,962	7,051	5,566	26.7	4,638	2,342	1,704	37.5
Weakley	13,887	7,013	6,208	13.0	5,203	2,628	2,149	22.3
White	13,468	6,801	5,646	20.5	5,089	2,570	1,922	33.7
Williamson	23,617	11,927	8,191	45.6	8,495	4,290	2,709	58.4
Wilson	20,380	10,292	7,878	30.6	6,790	3,429	2,465	39.1

TABLE 20

INCOME AND REAL INCOME CHANGE, 1970 AND 1980
(Continued)

	Median Family Income				Per Capita Income			
	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*	1979	1979 Adjusted*	1969	Percent Change 1969 to 1979 Adjusted*
Chattanooga, TN-GA**	18,107	9,144	8,513	7.4	6,766	3,417	2,811	21.6
Clarksville-Hopkinsville**	15,699	7,928	N.A.	N.A.	5,727	2,892	N.A.	N.A.
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol**	16,177	8,169	N.A.	N.A.	6,018	3,039	N.A.	N.A.
Knoxville, TN**	17,852	9,015	8,200	9.9	6,862	3,465	2,719	27.4
Memphis, TN-Arkansas-Mississippi**	18,074	9,127	8,542	6.9	6,648	3,357	2,710	23.9
Nashville-Davidson, TN**	19,675	9,936	9,187	8.2	7,248	3,660	3,068	19.3

*Incomes are given in current dollars in the Census data. The adjusted figures have been reduced to 1969 dollars using the Consumer Price Index, and percentage change represent increases in real income.

**1969 data are based on boundaries of Metropolitan Statistical Areas in 1970.

N.A. 1969 data not available for this geographic area.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Characteristics for Governmental Units and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Table 4.

TABLE 21

HIGHEST AND LOWEST MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES BY COUNTY IN TENNESSEE

High Income Counties	1979 Median Family Income	Percent of State Average	Percent Change in Adjusted Income 1969-1979
Williamson	$23,617	142.5	44.2
Wilson	20,380	123.0	29.3
Sumner	19,918	120.2	21.3
Davidson	19,733	119.1	4.1
Anderson	18,754	113.2	9.6
Hamilton	18,608	112.3	4.9
Rutherford	18,536	111.9	20.9
Cheatham	18,524	111.8	28.0
Shelby	18,193	109.8	4.9
Knox	18,055	108.9	10.2
Low Income Counties			
Hancock	$ 7,830	47.2	45.9
Fentress	9,438	57.0	19.9
Pickett	10,107	61.0	9.6
Clay	10,301	62.2	39.2
Claiborne	10,705	64.6	25.5
Johnson	11,058	66.7	10.9
Scott	11,403	68.8	36.7
Haywood	11,474	69.2	28.2
Lake	11,641	70.2	22.9
Jackson	11,952	70.9	50.1

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Characteristics for Governmental Units and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Table 4.

TABLE 22

PROPORTION OF TENNESSEANS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, 1969 AND 1979

	1979 Percent	1969 Percent
Total Population	16.5	21.8
Blacks	34.2	43.3
Families	13.1	18.2
Female-Headed Families	33.8	41.3
Persons 65 Years and Over	25.1	18.8

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

their position relatively, however, since the incidence of poverty in these two groups was twice as high as average in both years.

Table 23 presents data on poverty levels for families, female-headed families, total persons, and Blacks, based on income levels in 1979 and 1969, while Table 24 shows counties with the highest and lowest proportions of persons below poverty. Not surprisingly, the list of poverty-population extremes is very similar to the list of income extremes, though here, Davidson is the only central county among the lowest poverty proportion and the remainder of the list is dominated by its suburban counties. Counties with high proportions of population below poverty are about evenly split between East Tennessee border counties and West Tennessee counties.

TABLE 23

PERCENT OF PERSONS AND FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

	Percent of Families		Percent of Female Headed Families		Percent of Persons		Percent of Blacks	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Anderson	11.3	15.1	32.9	27.7	14.5	18.6	30.2	46.1
Bedford	38.9	17.7	31.3	22.5	14.1	21.3	22.1	48.0
Benton	13.1	19.0	24.8	15.6	16.5	21.4	45.0	--
Bledsoe	21.4	33.1	48.1	15.7	24.2	37.1	16.2	29.4
Blount	10.4	14.6	30.4	24.3	12.7	17.0	28.0	29.0
Bradley	11.0	14.3	32.4	26.8	13.9	16.8	25.0	38.4
Campbell		36.2	38.2	22.1	24.8	41.1	24.7	--
Cannon	13.4	26.2	31.5	13.0	17.5	28.6	26.4	--
Carroll	13.8	18.1	30.3	19.0	17.1	20.7	24.8	31.2
Carter	14.8	19.7	34.1	22.0	18.8	22.1	24.3	--
Cheatham	19.0	15.4	26.3	15.1	10.8	17.3	25.3	34.1
Chester	18.9	27.1	38.0	15.5	20.7	29.4	0	39.7
Claiborne	24.8	38.7	43.4	15.4	29.3	43.6	40.3	--
Clay	23.4	39.3	41.4	18.5	26.8	43.8	0	--
Cocke	23.4	29.3	40.8	20.8	27.5	33.3	41.6	53.1
Coffee	11.3	16.8	16.8	23.3	14.3	19.7	12.2	51.3
Crockett	17.7	24.8	37.5	23.9	21.8	30.5	49.8	62.2
Cumberland	17.8	29.0	33.7	14.6	21.9	31.9	0	--
Davidson	9.2	10.4	28.0	41.0	12.3	13.7	27.4	33.0
Decatur	16.5	22.5	30.3	15.1	19.0	23.4	44.6	26.0
DeKalb	18.8	21.6	30.8	15.8	22.9	23.1	23.7	--
Dickson	10.2	16.3	27.8	18.1	12.1	19.0	19.6	41.3
Dyer	12.9	21.9	25.6	25.2	16.3	26.3	36.5	53.7
Fayette	23.8	43.5	48.5	20.7	30.3	50.6	48.2	70.5
Fentress	29.8	42.4	42.3	17.1	33.5	46.2	0	--
Franklin	13.1	21.7	31.6	20.4	16.5	24.7	27.0	40.7
Gibson	14.5	18.9	37.5	22.2	18.8	22.3	42.6	43.9
Giles	13.4	21.4	27.1	21.2	16.7	24.5	29.7	41.5
Grainger	20.3	30.2	37.0	16.8	22.9	32.5	16.4	--
Greene	14.9	21.1	31.4	17.5	18.0	23.6	35.2	28.8
Grundy	21.2	40.2	43.4	14.5	25.5	44.3	0	--
Hamblen	13.0	15.8	32.5	21.9	15.6	19.1	20.3	38.4
Hamilton	10.2	13.3	32.0	38.4	13.5	16.6	31.9	39.8
Hancock	39.5	55.5	43.8	19.6	43.0	62.6	0	--
Hardeman	21.7	31.0	44.9	22.7	27.3	36.7	42.6	55.4

TABLE 23

PERCENT OF PERSONS AND FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL (Continued)

	Percent of Families		Percent of Female Headed Families		Percent of Persons		Percent of Blacks	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Hardin	18.0	30.4	37.0	14.0	20.4	33.7	0	61.8
Hawkins	15.7	23.8	33.4	17.1	18.3	26.7	32.8	49.7
Haywood	26.9	40.5	49.0	23.5	32.9	49.9	48.5	71.2
Henderson	14.5	25.6	31.2	15.1	17.6	27.9	25.9	37.8
Henry	11.3	21.6	22.8	22.9	15.0	26.2	34.8	48.4
Hickman	11.5	23.9	23.0	16.3	13.4	26.6	17.0	54.8
Houston	15.1	25.4	28.4	21.8	17.7	25.9	37.3	--
Humphreys	10.6	19.7	34.0	19.5	13.0	20.9	37.7	32.7
Jackson	22.4	38.0	37.6	10.6	24.9	40.9	0	--
Jefferson	13.5	19.4	33.3	17.9	17.1	22.3	38.1	32.4
Johnson	31.4	30.1	46.4	21.2	26.5	32.8	15.9	--
Knox	10.8	14.0	31.5	32.2	14.7	17.7	34.7	40.8
Lake	23.8	33.2	51.3	20.0	31.3	40.5	56.7	61.9
Lauderdale	20.4	39.2	41.9	20.2	24.9	47.7	43.4	78.2
Lawrence	13.2	24.8	29.9	16.7	16.6	27.6	28.8	48.6
Lewis	17.7	21.6	26.4	18.9	21.3	24.7	35.3	--
Lincoln	13.3	25.3	27.2	19.2	16.4	30.0	33.4	65.0
Loudon	10.3	18.4	23.1	20.4	12.8	21.1	11.1	36.9
McMinn	13.9	18.1	35.9	20.4	16.0	21.1	22.1	37.0
McNairy	14.8	30.3	26.5	13.2	18.3	32.7	26.6	66.7
Macon	14.0	29.1	24.1	13.7	16.6	29.3	0	--
Madison	13.2	19.5	36.3	33.4	17.6	24.1	35.7	48.9
Marion	16.3	25.1	36.8	16.8	18.8	29.1	33.4	40.6
Marshall	10.1	15.6	28.2	21.3	12.8	19.5	0	28.2
Maury	13.1	17.2	37.6	22.8	15.5	20.1	32.2	42.9
Meigs	12.3	33.7	14.0	18.1	14.3	29.7	20.7	--
Monroe	16.2	26.0	34.7	19.2	19.4	27.9	13.2	41.1
Montgomery	11.0	18.4	33.9	36.4	13.0	21.6	24.7	45.2
Moore	12.5	17.1	16.7	2.9	16.3	17.5	0	--
Morgan	21.6	27.3	44.2	17.6	25.7	32.1	0	--

TABLE 23

PERCENT OF PERSONS AND FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL (Continued)

	Percent of Families		Percent of Female Headed Families		Percent of Persons		Percent of Blacks	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Obion	12.1	18.3	31.4	19.7	15.4	22.3	37.3	53.5
Overton	21.7	35.9	37.4	14.9	25.4	38.2	62.2	--
Perry	11.4	27.4	13.3	17.8	15.3	29.9	0	--
Pickett	22.9	33.9	24.8	8.8	28.5	36.1	0	--
Polk	16.7	21.8	30.9	18.4	19.4	24.8	0	--
Putnam	12.8	23.3	26.8	15.9	16.7	25.7	21.0	47.3
Rhea	15.6	25.1	35.1	20.3	19.7	28.6	32.1	46.0
Roane	10.1	18.0	27.9	27.5	13.2	20.2	22.9	37.7
Robertson	11.0	19.5	40.3	19.8	13.4	22.0	27.2	44.4
Rutherford	8.8	15.1	26.1	26.0	11.5	18.8	30.0	38.7
Scott	23.9	42.1	50.8	20.3	28.6	47.9	23.9	--
Sequatchie	20.5	24.6	48.6	16.6	22.4	29.8	0	--
Sevier	13.0	19.2	30.4	16.2	15.1	22.8	35.2	--
Shelby	15.3	15.8	41.2	42.9	19.6	20.6	36.5	42.0
Smith	11.0	20.0	29.2	9.8	12.9	23.2	16.9	27.1
Stewart	16.9	29.5	29.0	10.9	18.6	31.4	14.3	--
Sullivan	10.1	13.2	28.4	24.0	12.9	15.9	30.3	47.2
Sumner	8.3	14.3	24.1	20.8	9.7	16.1	25.9	35.4
Tipton	16.0	29.3	44.5	22.3	20.1	34.4	45.3	65.4
Trousdale	7.1	29.7	20.8	23.0	9.3	34.6	0	47.2
Unicoi	11.8	19.8	27.4	19.8	15.0	23.8	0	--
Union	20.9	34.1	49.1	13.2	24.3	37.0	0	--
Van Buren	13.9	19.7	20.4	14.0	17.0	21.4	0	--
Warren	14.4	20.1	30.4	22.9	17.2	23.8	35.2	46.7
Washington	10.5	16.8	27.2	26.3	14.1	20.8	24.2	52.4
Wayne	16.5	27.7	25.9	13.9	18.5	29.9	54.6	--
Weakley	12.4	20.5	24.7	16.6	16.3	22.2	31.0	40.3
White	13.5	23.1	41.2	19.7	17.5	26.4	14.4	--
Williamson	6.8	14.4	18.0	20.8	8.4	17.2	23.0	39.0
Wilson	8.3	15.6	30.6	20.8	10.7	18.4	29.4	43.1

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Table File 3.

TABLE 24

HIGHEST AND LOWEST PROPORTION OF PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL AMONG TENNESSEE COUNTIES

Lowest Percent of Persons Below Poverty Level	
Williamson	8.4
Trousdale	9.3
Sumner	9.7
Wilson	10.7
Cheatham	10.8
Rutherford	11.5
Dickson	12.1
Davidson	12.3
Blount	12.7
Loudon	12.8
Marshall	12.8
Highest Percent of Persons Below Poverty Level	
Hancock	43.0
Fentress	33.5
Haywood	32.9
Lake	31.3
Fayette	30.3
Claiborne	29.3
Scott	28.6
Pickett	28.5
Cocke	27.5
Hardeman	27.3

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3.

CHAPTER 4

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

There have been some changes in the structure of Tennessee's housing stock over the decade, but perhaps less than might be expected, given the 34 percent increase in total housing units and the disproportionate increase in housing costs that has occurred during the past 15 years (See Table 25). With respect to housing type, single-family detached housing is a smaller proportion of the total in 1980 than in 1970, while mobile homes are a

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING UNITS
BY TYPE, 1970 AND 1980

	1980	1970
Number of year-round housing units	1,737,123	1,297,006
Vacant	6.8	6.5
Owner-occupied	63.9	62.4
Renter-occupied	29.3	31.1
Single detached	72.2	78.9
Mobile home	6.2	3.3*

*In 1970, vacant mobile homes were not counted as housing units; in 1980 they were. Thus, the proportion of the year-round homes that are mobile homes is "undercounted" in 1970 relative to 1980.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Tables 54, 60; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Housing Characteristics, Tables 2, 35.

larger percentage. The tenure--that is, the distribution of occupied housing between renters and owners--has changed very little over the decade, and vacant units were 6 to 7 percent of the total in 1970 and 1980.

Table 26 reveals some interesting similarities and dissimilarities in housing patterns. Central cities have the smallest propor-

TABLE 26

1980 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING UNITS BY TYPE AND TYPE OF PLACE

	Total State	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	Places of 10,000 or More Outside Urbanized Areas	Rural
Number of year-round housing units	1,737,123	636,804	164,315	133,919	670,815
Vacant	6.8	5.9	5.5	5.9	8.3
Owner-occupied	63.9	52.6	73.5	56.7	73.8
Renter-occupied	29.3	41.5	21.0	37.4	17.9
Units in structure					
Single detached	72.2	59.3	78.6	68.3	82.8
Single attached	2.3	4.0	1.8	2.9	7.1
2	4.7	7.2	3.3	7.4	1.8
3 and 4	3.1	5.0	2.5	4.4	1.0
5 to 9	3.4	6.2	3.2	4.5	0.8
10 to 49	5.3	10.5	4.0	6.5	0.9
50 or more	2.7	6.3	1.4	2.4	0.2
Mobile home or trailer	6.2	1.4	5.2	3.5	11.8

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 60.

tion of owner-occupied housing and the highest proportion of renters of any place category; however, places of 10,000 or more outside urbanized areas have a very similar pattern to large central cities. While they have smaller concentrations of multiple family units than central cities, they have higher proportions than the urbanized areas adjacent to central cities. Despite the fact that these places are all below 50,000 in population, their role as economic centers apparently makes for similar housing requirements.

A large share of Tennessee's housing stock is new; thirty percent of it has been built since 1970. Rural areas experienced the largest additions during the 70s, especially the early 70s--a reversal of earlier trends. Table 27 provides data on the age of

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING UNITS BY AGE AND TYPE OF PLACE

		Urbanized Areas		Outside Urbanized Areas		
	Total	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	Places of 10,000 or more	Places 2,500 to 10,000	Rural
1970 to March 1980	30.3	23.1	26.1	20.9	26.4	37.5
1979 to March 1980	3.8	2.4	6.1	0.4	2.9	4.7
1975 to 1978	11.4	6.8	17.8	7.7	10.0	15.3
1970 to 1974	15.1	13.9	2.2	12.8	13.5	17.5
1960 to 1969	23.0	25.0	22.9	24.9	23.0	20.7
1950 to 1959	17.3	22.3	13.7	20.2	18.4	12.7
1940 to 1949	11.9	13.4	9.1	16.0	13.5	10.1
1939 or earlier	16.7	16.2	8.5	14.7	18.7	19.1
Year-round housing units	1,737,123	636,804	164,315	133,919	131,278	670,815

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 60.

housing units for places of various size. The recent population growth in urbanized areas is reflected in the new additions to the housing stock since the mid-70s: more than 6 percent of the total housing stock in these urbanized areas had been built in the year before the census was taken.

Housing costs, including the associated utilities, have risen at an even faster rate than the general price level. Since the index available for deflating housing costs between 1970 and 1980 includes these associated costs, it does not provide an entirely satisfactory means of adjusting housing value for inflation. Using it as an approximation, however, Table 28 shows that in adjusted dollars the real cost of housing has increased 16.5 percent for owner-occupied housing, and 37 percent for renters.

TABLE 28

MEDIAN VALUE AND MEDIAN RENT
FOR OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS,
1970 AND 1980

	1980	1980 Adjusted*	1970	Percentage Change in Real Value/Rent 1970 to 1980 Adjusted
Median value	$35,600	$14,569	$12,500	16.5
Median contract rent	148	85	62	37.1

*1980 current dollars were adjusted by the total housing cost component of the Consumer Price Index, in the case of median value, and by the rent component, in the case of rent. The total housing cost index also includes the substantial price changes in utilities over this period, as well as taxes. It is therefore not an entirely satisfactory deflator for housing values per se.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Characteristics for Governmental Units, Table 2; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Housing Characteristics, Table 6.

In the past, housing data in the decennial censuses have been used as a guide to quality of housing. Questions on the condition, or state-of-repair of any housing unit, however, can be answered only subjectively. For that reason, the Census Bureau eliminated housing quality questions in 1980. Some perspective on the well-being of households can be derived from questions about household access to complete plumbing, telephones, vehicles, and of course, persons per room. Table 29 compares 1970 households

TABLE 29

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING UNITS 1970 AND 1980

	1980 Number	Percent	1970 Number	Percent
Number of occupied units	1,618,505	100.0	1,213,187	100.0
With no phone	159,891	9.9	233,220	19.2
With no automobile	218,570	13.5	214,874	17.7
With 1.01 or more persons per room	27,934	1.7	117,441	9.7
Number of year-round units with no bathroom or only a half bath, or shared bath	88,102		199,927	
Percent of year-round units	5.1		15.4	

NOTE: Comparisons between 1970 and 1980 should be considered only approximate, since many of the definitions have been changed somewhat. For example, in 1980 taxicabs kept at home were counted, but not in 1970; in 1970 homes which had access to a phone were counted as having a phone, but in 1980 only those units with phones in the living quarters were counted. In 1980 the statistics on persons per room are only for households below the poverty level, while they were tabulated for all households in 1970.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Tables 61 and 62; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, General Housing Characteristics, Table 2, 36, 3.

with 1980 households. In each respect, there are fewer disadvantaged households in the 1980s. Most striking, perhaps, is the decline in the number of households that have 1.01 or more persons per room.

Counties

As Table 26 (p. 58) shows, housing patterns vary greatly from central cities to suburban counties, thus it is more revealing to consider counties individually than as MSA aggregations. The county level data in Table 30 supports the grouped figures for Table 26 of places. That is, counties including central cities have lower proportions of owner occupied housing and single family detached units, followed by counties with cities above 10,000 people, for example, Putnam, Dyer, Madison, Coffee, Bradley counties.

The state average housing statistics of Table 26 are lowered by the high proportion of the state's population living in metropolitan areas, but the averages mask the rather different pattern that prevails in most of Tennessee's counties. While the average proportion of owner occupied homes is 63.9 for the state as a whole, a look at Table 30 shows that only 15 counties have proportions below 65 percent (including the anomalous Lake and Haywood) and that in an equal number of rural counties, or rural suburban counties, owner occupied homes account for 75 percent of the total. The range for proportion of housing units that are single family detached unis is still more striking. For the state as a whole, 72.2 percent of all housing units are single family detached.

TABLE 30

TENURE AND TYPE OF YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS

	Total Year-round Housing Units	Percent Owner-Occupied	Percent Renter-Occupied	Percent Vacant	Percent Single Detached	Percent Mobile Homes
Anderson	25,837	68.38	26.90	4.72	73.96	8.04
Bedford	10,803	66.55	25.49	7.96	81.47	6.85
Benton	6,489	69.93	16.01	14.06	77.28	15.50
Bledsoe	3,299	70.57	19.73	9.70	81.51	14.16
Blount	30,529	69.15	23.14	7.70	78.88	8.10
Bradley	24,655	65.32	28.08	6.60	74.97	6.65
Campbell	13,162	68.23	23.60	8.17	77.07	12.41
Cannon	3,983	73.46	17.55	8.99	87.95	5.67
Carroll	11,278	72.77	18.74	8.49	82.08	8.89
Carter	19,105	73.00	20.52	6.48	77.49	10.69
Cheatham	7,434	78.88	16.13	4.99	78.65	15.67
Chester	4,468	71.75	22.47	5.78	80.93	9.69
Claiborne	9,227	68.58	21.32	10.10	83.04	11.10
Clay	2,952	74.83	17.68	7.49	80.56	13.99
Cocke	11,277	64.57	25.47	9.96	76.47	14.14
Coffee	14,970	65.05	26.13	8.82	76.96	8.38
Crockett	5,638	72.19	23.24	4.57	88.22	5.16
Cumberland	10,790	71.53	20.10	8.37	80.04	9.34
Davidson	187,400	54.50	40.34	5.16	57.39	1.73
Decatur	4,814	67.70	17.08	15.22	86.17	7.87
DeKalb	5,930	65.55	18.03	16.42	84.30	8.58
Dickson	11,106	75.26	19.00	5.74	81.15	8.09
Dyer	13,302	64.68	30.76	4.56	80.53	5.13
Fayette	8,149	65.03	26.16	8.81	81.94	10.80
Fentress	5,554	70.40	20.11	9.49	86.37	7.15

TABLE 30

TENURE AND TYPE OF YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS
(Continued)

	Total Year-round Housing Units	Percent Owner-Occupied	Percent Renter-Occupied	Percent Vacant	Percent Single Detached	Percent Mobile Homes
Franklin	11,563	71.55	21.79	6.66	83.68	7.90
Gibson	19,519	68.86	24.40	6.74	83.14	5.79
Giles	9,543	66.97	25.51	7.52	79.21	7.46
Grainger	6,522	71.42	15.88	12.70	81.43	15.15
Greene	21,077	69.18	21.71	9.11	78.49	11.83
Grundy	4,911	77.56	14.27	8.17	82.28	12.81
Hamblen	18,398	67.82	25.98	6.20	76.43	7.15
Hamilton	110,010	60.61	33.31	6.08	67.96	3.72
Hancock	2,683	67.72	19.90	12.38	86.43	10.70
Hardeman	8,369	65.84	25.25	8.91	81.75	9.63
Hardin	8,646	71.42	20.76	7.82	85.58	9.97
Hawkins	16,857	70.23	20.47	9.30	80.29	10.90
Haywood	7,043	61.56	30.91	7.53	83.81	3.32
Henderson	8,255	74.00	19.10	6.90	78.99	13.63
Henry	12,145	68.55	21.31	10.14	77.81	10.84
Hickman	5,586	75.01	16.18	8.81	86.00	8.99
Houston	2,788	67.86	18.58	13.56	81.38	12.98
Humphreys	6,260	70.64	19.36	10.00	81.18	11.92
Jackson	3,697	72.92	18.04	9.04	86.10	10.52
Jefferson	11,740	70.22	20.26	9.52	79.15	12.86
Johnson	5,334	74.48	16.25	9.27	81.83	13.25
Knox	125,803	59.27	34.49	6.24	68.31	4.05
Lake	2,868	49.34	40.45	10.21	84.48	6.80
Lauderdale	9,111	59.60	31.29	9.11	82.16	6.45
Lawrence	12,528	72.54	22.18	5.28	84.19	6.63

TABLE 30

TENURE AND TYPE OF YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS
(Continued)

	Total Year-round Housing Units	Percent Owner-Occupied	Percent Renter-Occupied	Percent Vacant	Percent Single Detached	Percent Mobile Homes
Lewis	3,231	72.49	22.07	5.44	78.27	14.45
Lincoln	10,241	67.67	25.42	6.91	82.18	5.31
Loudon	10,810	74.72	20.46	4.82	81.25	9.47
McMinn	15,773	71.43	21.94	6.63	79.73	9.16
McNairy	9,002	73.28	17.57	9.15	85.44	9.25
Macon	6,070	75.60	17.40	7.00	82.60	10.49
Madison	28,817	60.89	31.81	7.30	72.62	4.15
Marion	8,981	72.72	19.36	7.92	75.87	16.11
Marshall	7,633	66.96	26.63	6.41	83.83	3.89
Maury	19,532	66.40	26.67	6.93	78.16	6.11
Meigs	2,800	71.64	18.36	10.00	75.18	18.39
Monroe	10,765	72.03	17.49	10.48	82.68	10.40
Montgomery	29,718	57.82	33.70	8.48	67.45	9.63
Moore	1,661	75.38	16.98	7.64	81.40	13.31
Morgan	5,893	73.43	18.02	8.55	79.30	14.31
Obion	12,984	67.38	25.65	6.97	78.99	7.60
Overton	6,520	75.40	18.50	6.10	80.29	11.15
Perry	2,624	69.89	15.47	14.64	80.14	16.23
Pickett	1,703	76.98	13.56	9.46	87.20	7.28
Polk	5,042	73.26	18.11	8.63	82.21	13.88
Putnam	17,783	63.68	30.26	6.06	71.31	9.60
Rhea	9,085	67.97	23.23	8.80	73.67	13.89
Roane	18,548	71.32	20.75	7.93	77.88	9.82
Robertson	13,259	69.40	25.12	5.48	81.96	6.18
Rutherford	30,432	61.09	30.92	7.99	70.26	7.01

TABLE 30

TENURE AND TYPE OF YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS
(Continued)

	Total Year-round Housing Units	Percent Owner-Occupied	Percent Renter-Occupied	Percent Vacant	Percent Single Detached	Percent Mobile Homes
Scott	6,566	70.35	24.08	14.83	78.16	14.50
Sequatchie	3,122	72.17	20.44	7.39	76.97	19.83
Sevier	16,604	69.13	19.65	11.22	80.73	10.58
Shelby	286,228	55.26	38.79	5.95	61.96	.98
Smith	6,038	68.88	20.42	10.70	82.44	10.19
Stewart	3,472	75.06	14.34	10.60	84.71	11.87
Sullivan	54,722	71.71	23.36	4.93	76.15	8.67
Sumner	30,108	73.51	21.34	5.15	80.02	7.86
Tipton	11,539	64.59	28.82	6.59	83.59	8.88
Trousdale	2,496	61.90	27.32	10.78	74.08	13.90
Unicoi	6,348	74.34	19.36	6.30	81.16	9.80
Union	4,424	71.47	17.74	10.79	81.56	14.04
Van Buren	1,732	78.87	12.93	8.20	88.57	7.85
Warren	12,930	68.73	23.06	8.21	80.30	6.25
Washington	33,552	63.69	29.27	7.04	71.36	8.30
Wayne	5,166	75.47	17.29	7.24	85.46	9.80
Weakley	12,441	67.86	25.12	7.02	78.06	7.91
White	7,546	75.19	17.41	7.40	83.61	10.68
Williamson	19,707	76.99	18.01	5.00	83.25	5.40
Wilson	20,068	74.88	19.12	6.00	79.71	8.60

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 93.

In Davidson County only 57 percent are single-family detached, while in rural counties such as Cannon, Crockett, Hancock, Jackson, Van Buren and Wayne, more than 85 percent fall into this category.

Similarly, mobile homes have become a much more significant part of the housing stock than state averages would indicate. A little more than 6 percent of the state's year-round housing units are mobile homes, but in Benton, Cheatham, Grainger, Marion, Meigs and Sequatchie Counties they account for 15 to 20 percent of year-round units. They make up more than 10 percent of the units in one-third of Tennessee counties.

Table 31 presents a count of housing units by age for each county. Although percentages are not calculated for each age group, figures do provide the percentage of year-round units built in each county since 1970. Compared to the percentage given for the state and places in Table 27, county percentages tend to be higher. As many as 40 to 50 percent of the units in Bradley, Cheatham, Cumberland, Meigs, Rhea, Sequatchie, Van Buren, and Wilson and Williamson have been built since 1970. In very few counties do these new units make up less than 25 percent of the housing stock. The contrast between the figures of Table 27 and Table 31 is not merely one of aggregated averages versus individual figures but it reflects the genuine contrast between the housing stock in places and the housing stock in open, unincorporated areas. Table 32 illustrates the point more vividly for some of the largest non-metropolitan cities in Tennessee and their surrounding counties. The table reports the total number of units in the city

TABLE 31

1980 YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS BY YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION

	1979 to March 1980	1975 to 1978	1970 to 1974	1960 to 1969	1950 to 1959	1940 to 1949	1939 or Earlier	Total Housing Units	Percent of Units Built Since 1970
Anderson	857	2,536	2,902	4,311	5,202	7,216	2,813	25,837	24.4
Bedford	305	1,033	1,162	2,847	1,619	1,373	2,464	10,803	23.1
Benton	272	842	916	1,572	1,445	636	806	6,489	31.3
Bledsoe	127	476	520	694	460	301	721	3,299	34.0
Blount	1,548	4,142	4,711	5,694	4,545	4,634	5,255	30,529	34.1
Bradley	1,186	3,280	5,421	6,179	3,450	2,258	2,881	24,655	40.1
Campbell	536	2,013	2,499	2,114	1,647	1,899	2,454	13,162	38.3
Cannon	123	477	558	885	563	448	929	3,983	29.1
Carroll	329	1,184	1,611	2,619	1,668	1,489	2,378	11,278	27.7
Carter	696	1,722	2,901	3,384	2,895	3,263	4,244	19,105	27.8
Cheatham	307	1,330	1,710	1,849	681	532	1,025	7,434	45.0
Chester	154	671	727	1,018	655	444	799	4,468	34.7
Claiborne	322	1,562	1,440	1,561	1,010	1,090	2,242	9,227	36.0
Clay	75	245	435	687	463	459	588	2,952	25.6
Cocke	319	1,127	1,838	2,740	1,698	1,269	2,286	11,277	29.1
Coffee	610	2,091	1,766	3,791	3,361	1,566	1,785	14,970	29.8
Crockett	178	461	813	1,207	862	817	1,300	5,638	25.7
Cumberland	519	2,158	2,475	2,021	1,311	945	1,361	10,790	47.7
Davidson	6,529	15,757	28,135	49,976	38,627	21,845	26,531	187,400	26.9
Decatur	203	511	596	1,286	744	658	816	4,814	27.2
DeKalb	187	743	1,093	1,448	758	586	1,115	5,930	34.1
Dickson	468	1,594	2,163	2,413	1,277	1,077	2,114	11,106	38.0
Dyer	286	1,349	2,032	2,732	2,147	2,151	2,605	13,302	27.6
Fayette	261	1,247	1,767	1,724	1,026	839	1,285	8,149	40.2
Fentress	143	882	922	1,164	886	755	802	5,554	35.1

TABLE 31

1980 YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS BY YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION
(Continued)

	1979 to March 1980	1975 to 1978	1970 to 1974	1960 to 1969	1950 to 1959	1940 to 1949	1939 or Earlier	Total Housing Units	Percent of Units Built Since 1970
Franklin	430	1,411	1,667	2,906	1,764	1,213	2,172	11,563	30.3
Gibson	413	1,609	2,236	4,190	3,439	3,091	4,541	19,519	21.8
Giles	369	892	1,554	1,863	1,152	949	2,764	9,543	29.5
Grainger	209	821	1,089	1,368	808	727	1,500	6,522	32.5
Greene	618	2,360	3,098	4,544	3,107	2,374	4,976	21,077	28.8
Grundy	207	692	924	891	605	592	1,000	4,911	37.1
Hamblen	834	2,135	3,640	5,196	2,868	1,591	2,134	18,398	35.9
Hamilton	3,628	10,426	16,642	24,563	21,262	13,907	19,582	110,010	27.9
Hancock	56	292	346	360	479	404	746	2,683	25.9
Hardeman	238	1,088	1,562	1,974	1,206	930	1,371	8,369	34.5
Hardin	331	1,263	1,322	2,008	1,553	1,026	1,143	8,646	33.7
Hawkins	791	2,129	2,672	3,300	2,543	1,941	3,481	16,857	33.2
Haywood	227	758	1,317	1,414	962	906	1,459	7,043	32.7
Henderson	182	959	1,376	2,432	1,117	870	1,319	8,255	30.5
Henry	459	1,238	1,909	2,461	1,642	1,486	2,950	12,145	29.7
Hickman	220	725	861	1,302	752	580	1,146	5,586	32.3
Houston	104	306	5111	716	261	341	549	2,788	33.0
Humphreys	289	768	989	1,695	1,125	623	771	6,260	32.7
Jackson	156	423	619	693	469	389	948	3,697	32.4
Jefferson	610	1,417	1,937	2,708	1,650	1,156	2,262	11,740	33.8
Johnson	180	648	851	1,004	678	633	1,340	5,334	31.5
Knox	5,891	14,196	18,854	27,104	21,727	16,456	21,575	125,803	31.0
Lake	20	179	280	621	485	563	720	2,868	16.7
Lauderdale	260	1,003	1,486	1,865	1,267	1,326	1,904	9,111	30.2
Lawrence	496	1,284	1,851	2,960	2,122	1,415	2,400	12,528	29.0

TABLE 31

1980 YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS BY YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION
(Continued)

	1979 to March 1980	1975 to 1978	1970 to 1974	1960 to 1969	1950 to 1959	1940 to 1949	1939 or Earlier	Total Housing Units	Percent of Units Built Since 1970
Lewis	96	314	505	859	463	534	460	3,231	28.3
Lincoln	201	966	1,356	2,260	1,416	1,099	2,943	10,241	24.6
Loudon	372	1,529	1,272	1,995	1,734	1,434	2,474	10,810	29.4
McMinn	624	1,685	2,272	3,211	2,621	1,962	3,398	15,773	29.0
McNairy	399	1,131	1,526	2,195	1,324	1,042	1,385	9,002	33.9
Macon	253	898	1,165	1,181	659	662	1,252	6,070	38.2
Madison	1,348	3,474	4,595	5,808	4,740	3,636	5,216	28,817	32.7
Marion	285	1,204	1,601	2,158	1,182	895	1,656	8,981	34.4
Marshall	302	618	790	1,514	1,218	977	2,214	7,633	22.4
Maury	782	1,997	2,493	3,952	3,048	2,264	4,996	19,532	27.0
Meigs	99	565	592	584	341	256	363	2,800	44.9
Monroe	387	1,710	1,615	2,005	1,725	1,337	1,986	10,765	34.5
Montgomery	1,353	4,774	5,280	7,846	4,972	2,367	3,126	29,718	38.4
Moore	40	216	273	358	186	201	387	1,661	31.8
Morgan	249	867	1,204	1,028	764	632	1,149	5,893	39.4
Obion	268	1,056	2,023	2,772	2,333	1,489	3,043	12,984	25.8
Overton	202	858	1,240	1,699	830	669	1,022	6,520	35.3
Perry	118	282	393	469	387	378	597	2,624	30.2
Pickett	68	221	323	328	253	195	315	1,703	36.0
Polk	195	593	789	1,108	516	567	1,274	5,042	31.3
Putnam	1,132	2,473	3,475	4,618	2,288	1,743	2,054	17,783	39.8
Rhea	468	1,573	1,728	1,852	1,088	901	1,475	9,085	41.5
Roane	757	3,061	2,705	3,690	3,560	1,957	2,818	18,548	35.2
Robertson	487	1,531	1,857	2,577	1,997	1,364	3,446	13,259	29.2
Rutherford	1,942	4,902	5,347	7,806	4,271	2,352	3,812	30,432	40.1

TABLE 31

1980 YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS BY YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION
(Continued)

	1979 to March 1980	1975 to 1978	1970 to 1974	1960 to 1969	1950 to 1959	1940 to 1949	1939 or Earlier	Total Housing Units	Percent of Units Built Since 1970
Scott	347	841	1,070	1,103	829	956	1,420	6,566	34.4
Sequatchie	140	538	661	687	425	304	367	3,122	42.9
Sevier	875	2,791	3,376	3,342	2,282	1,490	2,448	16,604	42.4
Shelby	7,708	25,605	45,204	71,662	65,570	35,089	35,390	286,228	27.4
Smith	116	710	792	1,149	836	608	1,827	6,038	26.8
Stewart	56	430	566	797	403	414	806	3,472	30.3
Sullivan	1,724	5,472	7,805	11,667	10,742	8,540	8,772	54,722	27.4
Sumner	1,646	5,058	6,387	8,525	3,339	1,656	3,497	30,108	43.5
Tipton	434	1,570	2,037	2,333	1,710	1,356	2,099	11,539	35.0
Trousdale	101	476	337	472	270	195	645	2,496	32.9
Unicoi	190	510	868	1,128	901	1,009	1,742	6,348	24.7
Union	200	680	756	989	614	390	795	4,424	37.1
Van Buren	63	408	300	370	217	148	226	1,732	44.5
Warren	593	1,739	2,271	3,130	1,814	1,354	2,029	12,930	35.6
Washington	1,559	3,881	5,216	7,512	5,264	3,432	6,688	33,552	31.8
Wayne	225	511	751	1,319	696	736	928	5,166	28.8
Weakley	292	1,167	2,003	2,833	1,423	1,551	3,172	12,441	27.8
White	250	977	1,190	1,623	971	983	1,552	7,546	32.0
Williamson	1,424	4,370	4,317	4,238	1,670	812	2,876	19,707	51.3
Wilson	1,049	3,401	3,601	4,806	2,614	1,383	3,214	20,068	40.1

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 93.

TABLE 32

YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS BUILT SINCE 1970 FOR SELECTED PLACES 10,000 TO 50,000 AND THEIR SURROUNDING COUNTIES*

		Units in Area Built Since 1970		
	Total Units	Number	Percent	Percent of all County Units in Area Built Since 1970
Athens	4,784	1,005	21.0	21.9
McMinn County	10,989	3,576	32.5	78.1
Cleveland	10,622	3,047	28.7	30.8
Bradley County	14,033	6,840	48.7	69.2
Columbia	10,224	2,486	24.3	47.2
Maury County	9,308	2,786	29.9	52.8
Cookeville	7,583	2,777	36.6	39.2
Putnam County	10,200	4,303	42.2	60.8
Dyersburg	6,417	1,406	21.9	38.4
Dyer County	6,885	2,261	32.8	61.6
Greeneville	5,776	1,220	21.1	20.1
Greene County	15,301	4,856	31.7	79.9
Humboldt	3,845	694	18.0	16.3
Gibson County	15,674	3,564	22.7	83.7
Jackson	19,378	5,464	28.2	58.0
Madison County	9,439	3,953	41.9	42.0
Lawrenceburg	4,094	1,126	27.5	31.0
Lawrence County	8,434	2,505	29.7	69.0
McMinnville	4,525	831	18.4	18.1
Warren County	8,405	3,772	44.9	81.9
Morristown	7,830	1,669	21.3	25.3
Hamblen County	10,568	4,940	46.7	74.7
Paris	4,693	993	21.2	27.5
Henry County	7,452	2,613	35.1	72.5
Shelbyville	5,398	905	16.8	36.2
Bedford County	5,405	1,595	29.5	63.8
Tullahoma	6,225	1,556	25.0	34.8
Coffee County	8,745	2,911	33.3	65.2
Union City	4,276	798	18.7	23.8
Obion County	8,708	2,549	29.3	76.2

*County housing units are for the entire county, exclusive of the city list. This county remainder may include other, smaller places.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 86; County remainders calculated using Table 93.

and in the remainder of the surrounding county, the percentage of each area's units built since 1970, and the percentage of all county units built since 1970 that fall in the remainder of the county. In only one of the 15 cases does the absolute number of new units in a city exceed those built in its surrounding county, and in no case does the newly built proportion of a city's housing units exceed the proportion of newly built units in the surrounding county. Generally, at least two-thirds of the units built since 1970 are outside the incorporated areas (despite considerable annexation activity over the decade).

Housing costs for counties are shown in Table 33. Median value is highly correlated with median income levels, as expected. Counties with the highest median housing value are almost invariably in metropolitan areas; even so it is striking that the five top ranking counties, in terms of median housing value, are all in the Nashville-Davidson MSA. The lowest ranking counties in terms of median housing value are rural counties; seven of the lowest ranking ten are east Tennessee counties, including the lowest four.

Comparisons of owners' income and renters' income shows that in every case owners' median incomes are higher than renters', but in some cases owners' median incomes are double those of renters and in others the differences are small. Greater differences obviously imply a wider income disparity in the county, and although this is not surprising in metropolitan areas, Lake County once again offers an unexpected example.

TABLE 33

MEDIAN COSTS OF HOUSING UNITS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY TENURE

	Owner-Occupied				Renter-Occupied	
	Median Value (Specified Owner)	Median Monthly Cost		Median Income	Median Gross Rent	Median Income
		With Mortgage	Not Mortgaged			
Anderson	$36,200	$312	$109	$18,607	$203	$10,640
Bedford	30,400	264	107	15,769	173	9,957
Benton	29,500	266	93	13,029	173	7,973
Bledsoe	21,300	246	84	11,594	153	7,461
Blount	37,500	302	100	17,237	199	9,759
Bradley	35,500	309	103	17,236	199	9,864
Campbell	23,300	268	90	11,826	150	6,633
Cannon	28,400	254	90	12,900	149	8,023
Carroll	26,200	271	102	13,029	163	7,288
Carter	27,400	250	95	12,524	165	8,267
Cheatham	36,200	316	108	17,782	218	10,495
Chester	27,600	276	93	14,291	155	6,006
Claiborne	30,400	294	91	10,288	135	6,615
Clay	26,200	195	85	9,565	114	6,276
Cocke	25,800	256	92	11,773	150	7,008
Coffee	35,200	282	99	16,521	198	9,738
Crockett	24,700	228	103	12,465	151	7,598
Cumberland	30,600	263	85	12,219	168	8,510
Davidson	44,900	312	117	21,089	244	10,978
Decatur	26,400	234	87	11,704	155	7,725

TABLE 33

MEDIAN COSTS OF HOUSING UNITS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY TENURE
(Continued)

	Owner-Occupied				Renter-Occupied	
	Median Value (Specified Owner)	Median Monthly Cost		Median Income	Median Gross Rent	Median Income
		With Mortgage	Not Mortgaged			
DeKalb	27,300	243	92	11,476	153	8,511
Dickson	31,600	276	99	15,855	188	9,827
Dyer	26,700	263	105	14,411	175	9,002
Fayette	28,900	259	104	14,129	131	6,443
Fentress	21,000	189	69	8,938	130	6,072
Franklin	32,300	271	102	14,480	173	9,080
Gibson	26,300	263	103	14,256	158	7,426
Giles	27,700	273	101	14,535	163	9,202
Grainger	25,900	228	80	11,900	147	7,560
Greene	30,200	264	93	13,860	165	8,046
Grundy	19,400	211	82	11,011	151	6,994
Hamblen	33,100	281	94	15,659	188	9,173
Hamilton	37,000	322	115	19,475	222	10,015
Hancock	21,000	220	77	7,401	110	4,958
Hardeman	25,400	249	93	12,718	143	7,335
Hardin	28,200	254	83	12,326	162	8,641
Hawkins	32,200	274	97	14,089	195	9,469
Haywood	26,700	242	98	12,104	143	6,463
Henderson	27,400	245	90	13,047	167	8,551
Henry	29,300	269	102	13,452	167	8,585

TABLE 33

MEDIAN COSTS OF HOUSING UNITS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY TENURE
(Continued)

	Owner-Occupied				Renter-Occupied	
	Median Value (Specified Owner)	Median Monthly Cost With Mortgage	Median Monthly Cost Not Mortgaged	Median Income	Median Gross Rent	Median Income
Hickman	26,000	249	97	13,686	182	8,965
Houston	25,600	249	87	13,266	160	8,714
Humphreys	31,700	273	94	17,050	165	9,393
Jackson	27,700	248	88	10,668	122	7,428
Jefferson	30,400	258	95	13,910	159	7,813
Johnson	25,700	253	82	10,699	164	7,779
Knox	39,900	329	116	19,081	213	9,240
Lake	24,600	236	120	13,925	121	6,538
Lauderdale	25,200	239	100	13,588	154	6,824
Lawrence	30,400	271	90	14,595	161	9,203
Lewis	23,000	240	85	11,174	123	7,809
Lincoln	27,000	254	99	13,527	159	8,814
Loudon	31,500	299	108	15,479	173	8,762
McMinn	30,300	284	101	15,478	165	7,816
McNairy	25,200	248	86	11,887	169	8,414
Macon	27,800	226	88	12,885	189	8,882
Madison	36,200	307	101	17,624	181	8,669
Marion	25,800	261	99	14,341	172	9,151
Marshall	26,700	246	105	15,084	170	9,234
Maury	31,700	276	102	17,117	185	9,261

TABLE 33

MEDIAN COSTS OF HOUSING UNITS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY TENURE

(Continued)

	Owner-Occupied				Renter-Occupied	
	Median Value (Specified Owner)	Median Monthly Cost		Median Income	Median Gross Rent	Median Income
		With Mortgage	Not Mortgaged			
Meigs	33,500	296	88	14,545	184	10,755
Monroe	26,400	256	87	12,845	159	7,339
Montgomery	37,400	310	108	17,196	234	10,429
Moore	33,300	245	93	15,859	182	8,556
Morgar	23,900	248	92	11,905	145	7,343
Obion	28,800	281	106	15,405	173	9,093
Overton	24,900	223	79	11,322	151	7,208
Perry	22,300	248	83	11,657	136	9,279
Pickett	24,800	187	77	9,590	162	7,679
Polk	21,000	259	92	13,467	158	8,581
Putnam	36,900	302	97	14,291	187	8,996
Rhea	28,100	305	90	14,119	185	9,550
Roane	33,100	310	104	17,433	170	7,962
Robertson	35,000	304	114	17,132	182	10,204
Rutherford	42,800	339	106	19,568	234	10,986
Scott	21,800	244	83	10,682	126	6,612
Sequatchie	25,100	239	84	12,316	189	7,419
Sevier	37,700	313	95	15,035	202	8,980
Shelby	38,600	308	102	20,511	202	9,601
Smith	31,200	274	101	15,015	178	9,816

TABLE 33

MEDIAN COSTS OF HOUSING UNITS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY TENURE
(Continued)

	Owner-Occupied				Renter-Occupied	
	Median Value (Specified Owner)	Median Monthly Cost		Median Income	Median Gross Rent	Median Income
		With Mortgage	Not Mortgaged			
Stewart	25,600	230	88	11,735	171	10,189
Sullivan	36,700	296	109	17,880	189	9,552
Sumner	46,800	361	117	20,251	249	12,290
Tipton	34,100	311	115	16,276	184	8,671
Trousdale	30,100	282	96	15,650	210	13,400
Unicoi	30,600	257	96	13,150	180	9,444
Union	27,400	289	83	12,139	176	6,879
Van Buren	25,000	182	73	11,522	119	9,712
Warren	28,700	261	94	13,628	166	8,135
Washington	37,300	281	93	16,652	195	9,257
Wayne	22,800	213	83	12,392	146	9,096
Weakley	27,100	276	104	13,214	178	7,687
White	28,900	240	94	12,575	140	7,259
Williamson	71,800	473	122	24,778	230	12,228
Wilson	48,000	386	114	20,451	223	10,980

SOURCE: 1980 Census Population and Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, Table 95.

PART TWO

STATE TRENDS IN MORTALITY, MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND FERTILITY

CHAPTER 1

PATTERNS OF MORTALITY, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE IN TENNESSEE, 1970-1980

Introduction

To examine age and sex differences in patterns of marriage, divorce, widowhood, and mortality in Tennessee, Woodrow et al. (1977) used census data for 1970 and vital statistics data for 1969, 1970, and 1971. The availability of 1980 census data and vital statistics for 1979, 1980, and 1981 allows an updated study to see what changes have occurred in the past 10 years since Tennessee, as part of the Sunbelt, has experienced in-migration (Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983), declines in fertility (see the following Chapter 2), and an aging population.

Between 1970 and 1980 marked changes did occur in mortality and marital status patterns in Tennessee. Infant mortality declined sharply and life expectancy increased. In addition, patterns of marrying, divorcing, and remarrying have undergone dramatic changes. Fewer Tennesseans are marrying than in the past, more are divorcing, and fewer are remarrying after a marital dissolution. The time spent married has declined, while the time spent divorced or widowed has increased. It is now more likely for a marriage to end in a divorce than to end from the death of a spouse.

The changes in marital patterns should be interpreted judiciously, due to Tennessee's shift from a pattern of out-migration to one of in-migration because of two factors: (1) the migrant's attitudes toward marriage and divorce may differ from those held by the non-migrant population; and (2) migration occurs largely in ages most typically associated with first marriage and early divorce. Further, if married migrants bring with them a higher propensity to divorce, then the state patterns will partially reflect this tendency with an upturn in divorce between 1970 and 1980. Similarly, migrant's attitudes, their numbers, and ages may affect first marriage, remarriage, and widowhood. Thus, changes in the patterns observed since the earlier study may be due to changes in behavior of the non-migrant population, or because migrants behave differently from non-migrants, or both.

Mortality

Table 1 displays the values of average life expectancy at birth and infant mortality rates by sex for Tennessee in 1970 and

TABLE 1

AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH AND
INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY SEX,
TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	U.S.	Tennessee	
	Life Expectancy at Birth	Life Expectancy at Birth	Infant Mortality Rates
Female			
1970	74.6	73.7	19.9
1980	77.6 (1979)	77.1	11.7
Male			
1970	67.0	65.2	25.1
1980	69.9 (1979)	69.2	14.4

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

1980. For both sexes, the average life expectancy at birth improved radically between 1970 and 1980. Females added 3.4 years in longevity, while males gained 2.8 years. The increased life expectancy for Tennesseans parallels experiences of females and males in the United States.

Infant mortality rates dropped for both sexes between 1970 and 1980. Female infant deaths declined 8.4 per 1000 live births, while male infant deaths fell 10.7 per 1000 live births. In general, mortality declined for both sexes at all ages, except in the older ages. The most dramatic declines between 1970 and 1980 were among ages 0-24. In general, the declines in mortality and the increases in longevity are due to improved delivery of health care services (especially those programs aimed at reducing infant deaths, with better pre- and post-natal care), increased concern over diet, reduced rates of smoking, and increased numbers of persons involved in regimens of physical exercise.

Mortality declined across all marital status categories in the past decade. In 1970 and 1980 the currently married have the lowest mortality rates. Single persons have the second lowest rates, followed by the widowed. The divorced have the highest rates, although there is variability among widowed and divorced persons in selected ages. Regardless of marital status, males have higher age-specific mortality rates than females.

Entry Into First Marriage

In 1970 the median age at first marriage was 19.9 years for females and 21.8 for males (see Table 2), whereas in 1980 the median ages were 21.4 and 23.7, respectively, for females and males. There are a number of reasons for this rise in age at wedlock. First, as the population has aged in the past 10 years, the median age of marriageable individuals has gone up. In 1970 the median age was approximately 28 years, while in 1980 it was about 30 years of age. Second, increased numbers of females are attending and completing college before marrying. Third, the percentages of females participating in the labor force have risen steadily in the past ten years. Fourth, there is a desire on the part of most young adults to establish a career before marrying. Fifth, individuals are able to exercise a high degree of control over their fertility decisions, which lowers the likelihood of marriages at younger ages due to premarital pregnancy.

TABLE 2

PATTERNS OF FIRST MARRIAGE BY SEX, TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	Proportions Ever Marrying	Median Age at Marriage	Proportion of Cohort Life in Never-Married
Female			
1970	.927	19.9	.305
1980	.847	21.4	.376
Male			
1970	.923	21.8	.348
1980	.838	23.7	.430

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

Marriages occurred typically between ages 17 to 23 for females in 1970 and between ages 18 and 25 in 1980. For males the peak years of entry into marriage ranges from ages 19 to 30 in 1980. This rise reflects the move toward marriage at a later age.

In 1970 almost 92 percent of the females and males were expected eventually to marry, whereas by 1980 that number decreased to approximately 84 percent. The 8 percent decrease represents a retreat from the long-held patterns of nearly universal marriage in Tennessee. Another indication of the movement away from marriage is the proportion of cohort life spent in the never-married category. Between 1970 and 1980 the proportion of time any individual is likely to spend single increased. For females the increase in cohort time spent never married is 7 percent, while for males this increase is 8 percent. This shift toward more time spent never married is tied to the declines in infant mortality, the reductions in age-specific mortality, and the delays in marriage. Such shifts in mortality increase the number of single survivors, especially in the ages 0 through 24. Delaying marriage among survivors means more time spent single. In sum, fewer Tennesseans marry, and those who do tend to marry at an older age.

Divorce and Widowhood

In Table 3 it is evident that there is increasing probability that a marriage will end in divorce. In 1970 the chances of a marriage ending in divorce were 38 per 100 for females and 40 per 100 for males, while in 1980 the odds were 48 per 100 for both sexes. While it is equally probable for both sexes that a marriage will end in divorce, the likelihood of experiencing a divorce was higher for males, since more males remarry following widowhood or divorce. This difference is seen in the measure of the number of divorces per person marrying. In 1970 roughly 7 of 10 males marrying would suffer a divorce, compared with 6 of 10 females. By 1980 almost 8.5 males out of 10 marrying would experience a divorce, compared to 8 of 10 females marrying. A male, therefore, has a slightly greater risk of becoming a "multiple loser."

TABLE 3

PATTERNS OF DIVORCE BY SEX, TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	Probability of Marriage Ending in Divorce	Number of Divorces Per Person Marrying	Proportion Dying Divorced	Median Age at Divorce	Proportion of Cohort Life in Divorced
Female					
1970	.382	.614	.080	30.2	.055
1980	.475	.796	.148	31.3	.103
Male					
1970	.403	.683	.069	32.6	.027
1980	.475	.846	.109	34.2	.058

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

Tennesseeans divorced at an older age in 1980 than in 1970. The rise in the median age at divorce is linked to age at marriage. That is, the later one marries, the later the age at which one comes into risk of divorce.

The increase in the proportion of cohort life likely to be spent in the divorced status doubled between 1970 and 1980 for both sexes. The average number of years an individual lives in the divorced status is estimated by multiplying the average life expectancy at birth (see Table 1) by the proportion of cohort life time spent in the divorced category (see Table 3). In 1970 females could expect to spend 1.38 years divorced and males about 0.7 years. In 1980 females could anticipate spending 2.3 years divorced, and males, 1.30 years.

Widowhood

A comparison of probabilities in Tables 3 and 4 shows whether it is more likely for a marriage to end in divorce or widowhood. In

TABLE 4

PATTERNS OF WIDOWHOOD BY SEX, TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	Probability of Marriage Ending in Widowhood	Proportion of Persons Dying Widowed	Median Age at Widowhood	Proportion of Cohort Life Widowed	Proportion of Cohort Life Over 50 Widowed
Female					
1970	.450	.598	66.1	.140	.379
1980	.387	.503	70.4	.122	.303
Male					
1970	.161	.172	67.1	.030	.097
1980	.138	.150	70.+	.024	.073

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

1980 divorce remained more likely for males, but for the first time in the history of Tennessee, divorce was a more likely way for females to end a marriage than widowhood. Males generally spend less time widowed than females, and females are more likely to die widowed than males.

Remarriage

Table 5 shows that males, whether divorced or widowed, are more likely to remarry than females, and the divorced are more likely to remarry than those widowed. The difference in remarriage patterns is simply a function of the age at which unions typically dissolve. Divorces tend to occur in the early 30s, followed by remarriage in the mid-30s, while the widowed who

TABLE 5

PATTERNS OF REMARRIAGE BY SEX, TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	Ratio of Remarriages of Widowed Persons to Widowhoods	Median Age at Remarriage for Widowed	Ratio of Remarriages of Divorced Persons to Divorces	Median Age at Remarriage for Divorced
Female				
1970	.107	54.1	.858	31.9
1980	.084	58.5	.780	33.6
Male				
1970	.317	59.2	.890	33.2
1980	.268	64.1	.845	36.6

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

remarry tend to do so in their late 50s or early 60s. Most interesting is the decline from 1970 to 1980 in the ratio of remarriages of those divorced to the number of divorces. In 1970 roughly 86 per 100 divorced females remarried, but in 1980 the odds decreased to 78 per 100. Similarly, in 1970, 89 out of 100 divorced males remarried, and in 1980, 85 out of 100 remarried.

Currently Married

The summary measures on the presently married are presented in Table 6. The figures on expectation of the life of a marriage show that males were wed, on the average, longer than females in both 1970 and 1980. The average expectation of the life of a marriage has declined almost three years in the past decade, despite increases in longevity. This decline is probably due to the later age at first marriage, the increase in divorce, and

TABLE 6

PERSONS PRESENTLY MARRIED, BY SEX, TENNESSEE, 1970 AND 1980

	Expectation of Life of a Marriage	Number of Marriages Per Person	Number of Marriages Per Person Marrying	Proportion of Cohort Life in Married
Female				
1970	24.61	1.48	1.60	.497
1980	22.37	1.42	1.67	.397
Male				
1970	24.70	1.56	1.69	.593
1980	22.58	1.49	1.78	.487

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen.

greater reluctance to re-enter wedlock. The estimated number of marriages per person is higher for males than females, although this index has declined slightly from 1970 to 1980. For both sexes the number of remarriages per person marrying shows slight increases between 1970 and 1980, with males expected to wed slightly more often than females. Although the formerly married tend to remarry, the proportion of cohort life spent in the married status has dropped markedly for both sexes.

Procedures

The logic of the simple, or single-decrement, life table is simple and elegant. It takes a hypothetical group of people called a cohort and subjects them to a current schedule of age-specific death rates. Individuals are subtracted, or decremented, according to the mortality schedule, age by age, until all members of the initial cohort have died. If more than one event is used to decrement the population, it is referred to as a multiple decrement life table. If additions are made to the life table population, they are called increments (Hastings and Tu, 1974).

Single-decrement and multiple-decrement life table techniques are used to focus on a particular status change, e.g., single to married, or on changes from one status to one or more alternate statuses, i.e., married to divorced, widowed, or deceased (Jacobson, 1965). But since a decrement in one status may be an increment to another status (e.g., divorce decreases those in the married status and increases those in the single), multiple increment-decrement techniques are needed to study changes in marital status.

Schoen and Nelson (1974) and Schoen (1975) developed an algebraic solution for the construction of multiple increment-decrement life tables to analyze these changes. Within a cohort, individuals may move from never married to currently married, from currently married to divorced or widowed, from divorced or widowed to currently married. Losses from one category become additions to another. The approach also looks at losses from each of these categories due to death. With this approach, the probabilities of exiting or entering each of the categories can be traced in detail. (For a detailed discussion of this kind of approach, see Land and Rogers, 1982.)

Four separate data sets are required for calculation of rates used in preparing the combined life table.

(1) _Population by age, sex, and marital status for Tennessee, 1980_. Data on the Tennessee population are reported in mixed age intervals in the 100 percent sample (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980). Since data by single years are needed for ages 14-69, the appropriate age intervals were interpolated to obtain single year-of-age data. Data for ages 70 and over were aggregated into a single category.

(2) _Numbers of deaths by age, sex, and marital status for Tennessee residents, 1979-1981_. Special tallies in the number of deaths to residents by single years of age, sex, and marital status (except widows) were obtained from Vital Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health.

(3) Numbers of marriages by age, sex, and former marital status for Tennessee residents, 1979-1981. Special tallies in the number of marriages by single years of age, sex, and previous marital status were run by Vital Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health for 1979-1981. For 1979 and 1980, marriages were recorded by place of residence; however, in 1981 marriages were reported by place of occurrence. To ensure comparability for each of the three years, the authors calculated the proportions of marriages by residence in 1980 for males and females--0.7908 and 0.8146, respectively. These 1980 proportions were used to obtain the estimated number of resident marriages in 1981.

(4) Numbers of marriages terminated by divorce by age and sex. Tallies on numbers of divorces by single years and by sex also were prepared by Vital Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health. Divorces also were reported by place of residence in 1979 and 1980, but by place of occurrence in 1981. To ensure comparability for each of the three years, the proportions of male and female divorces occurring to residents in 1980 were calculated at, respectively, 0.9185 and 0.9571. The 1980 proportions were used to obtain the estimated number of divorces in 1981.

(5) Number of marriages terminated in widowhood. Since data on widowhood are reported neither in the Vital Statistics registration system or the census, we followed the

Schoen and Nelson (1974) procedure of estimating widowhood by applying the age-specific married female death rates to married males two years older. This strategy is reasonable for males who first wed between the ages 19 and 30. We suspect, however, that when first marriage occurs at older ages or when a union is the second or third marriage for one or both spouses, assuming a two-year age difference between husband and wife is less tenable.

Once the appropriate numerator and denominator values were obtained, calculation of census-centered, age-sex specific rates for marriage, divorce, and widowhood and age-sex specific death rates was an easy task. The data makes obvious the fact that striking changes have occurred in all these categories over the past ten years.

References for Chapter 1, Part Two

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PART TWO

CHAPTER 2

FERTILITY DECLINE IN TENNESSEE: 1970-1980

Introduction

Earlier research on childbearing between 1960 and 1970 suggested that a fertility decline was underway both in the United States and Tennessee. This decline was sometimes called the "baby bust," in contrast to the 15-year "baby boom" after World War II. Considering the volatility of women's fertility patterns and the experts' inability in the past to prognosticate future behavior, demographers eyed the 1960-1970 decline with suspicion, treating it as a temporary phenomenon.

Now that population counts by age and sex are available from the 1980 Census, along with vital registration statistics on births and deaths for the state of Tennessee, it is possible to analyze what transpired in fertility patterns between 1970 and 1980. This paper reports fertility trends for the state, development districts, and for counties across Tennessee. Detailed data on direct measures of fertility are presented in the tables and figures, and the influence of migration on fertility rates is considered as well. The final section of the report explains the methodology used.

The data show that the declines in fertility observed between 1960 and 1970 have continued through 1980. In these years, Tennessee women have reduced their completed family size by almost one-half. The average age at which Tennessee women are bearing children rose slightly, with most giving birth between the ages of

20-29, consistent with the historical child-bearing years. Teenage fertility fell dramatically.

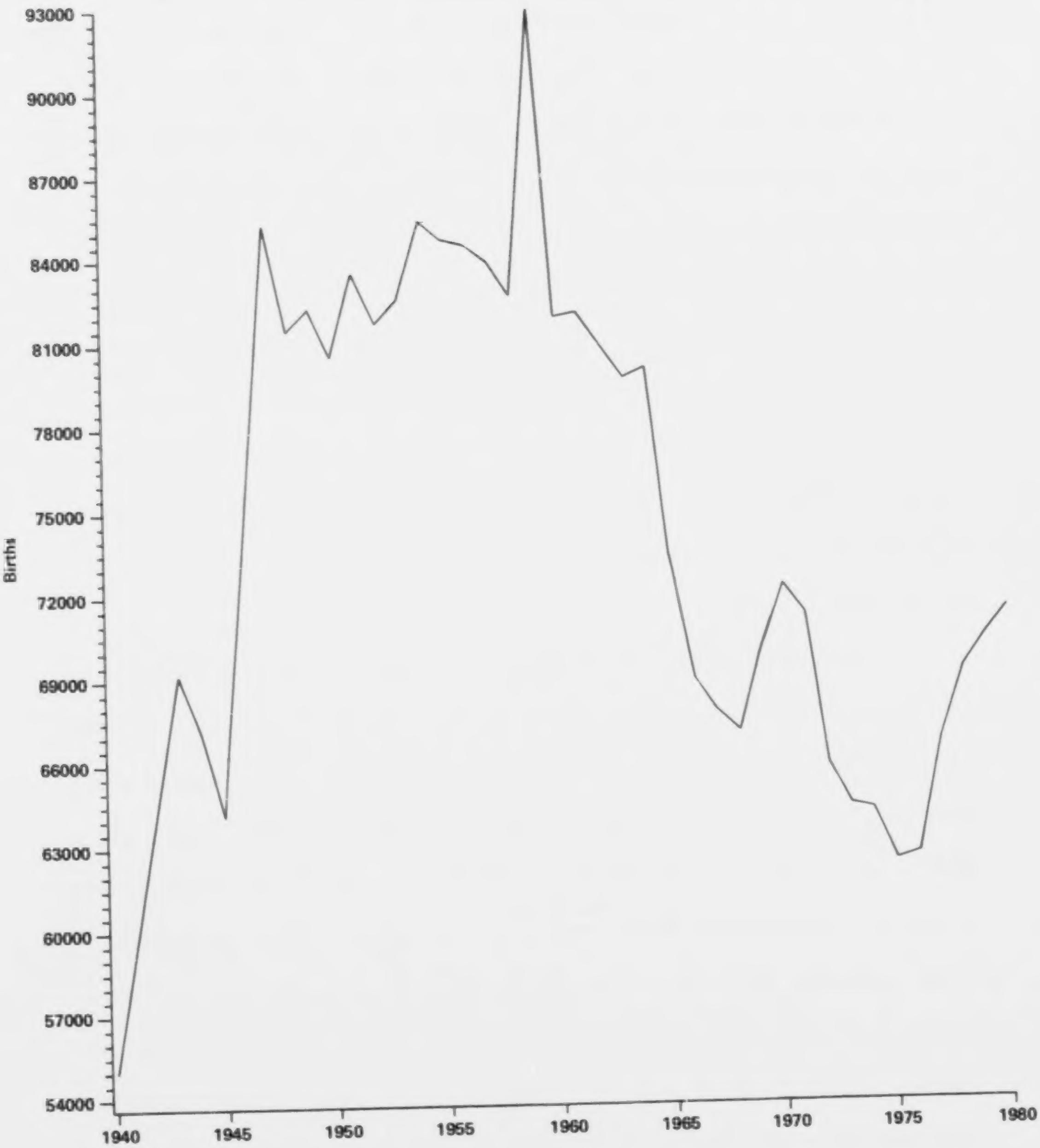
Fertility Trends For The State

Figure 1 illustrates the number of live births to residents of Tennessee from 1940 through 1980. The beginning of the "baby boom" in the late 1940s is clearly visible. A decline of fertility can be observed for the years 1958 through 1975, interrupted by a slight increase during the early 1970s. From 1975 through 1980, the number of total live births again increases.

A number of factors contributed to this overall decline in fertility, including a widespread adoption of belief in smaller-sized families; an increased reliance on more effective contraception--the pill, IUD, and spermicides, in combination with condoms and diaphragm; a rise in the number of couples opting for vasectomies and tubal ligations; a broader information base about family planning (targeting youth) and increased services in rural areas; the decision of females to delay marriage; a rise in females' level of educational attainment; and increase in the percentages of females participating in the labor force. The increase in births which has occurred since 1975 is almost certainly not a reversal of these factors, but is a result of the fact that the "baby boom" bulge now occurs at prime childbearing ages.

This report presents age-specific fertility rates, total fertility rates, and general fertility rates for the decades 1960 through 1980. The total fertility rate (TFR) is an estimate of completed fertility--that is, it is derived from the number of children born to

FIGURE 1
TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS, TENNESSEE, 1940-1980



Source: 1940-1970, Tennessee Vital Statistics Series, 1977, Table 1 and Provisional Tennessee Vital Statistics, 5–7–80 and 6–20–81.

females by the end of their childbearing years, assuming that current age-specific fertility rates remain unchanged. The total fertility rate may be loosely interpreted as the value indicating whether the total population will grow or decline. A TFR value above two indicates that couples have produced more than enough children to replace themselves, while a value below two indicates the number of children is less than that required for the population to replace itself.

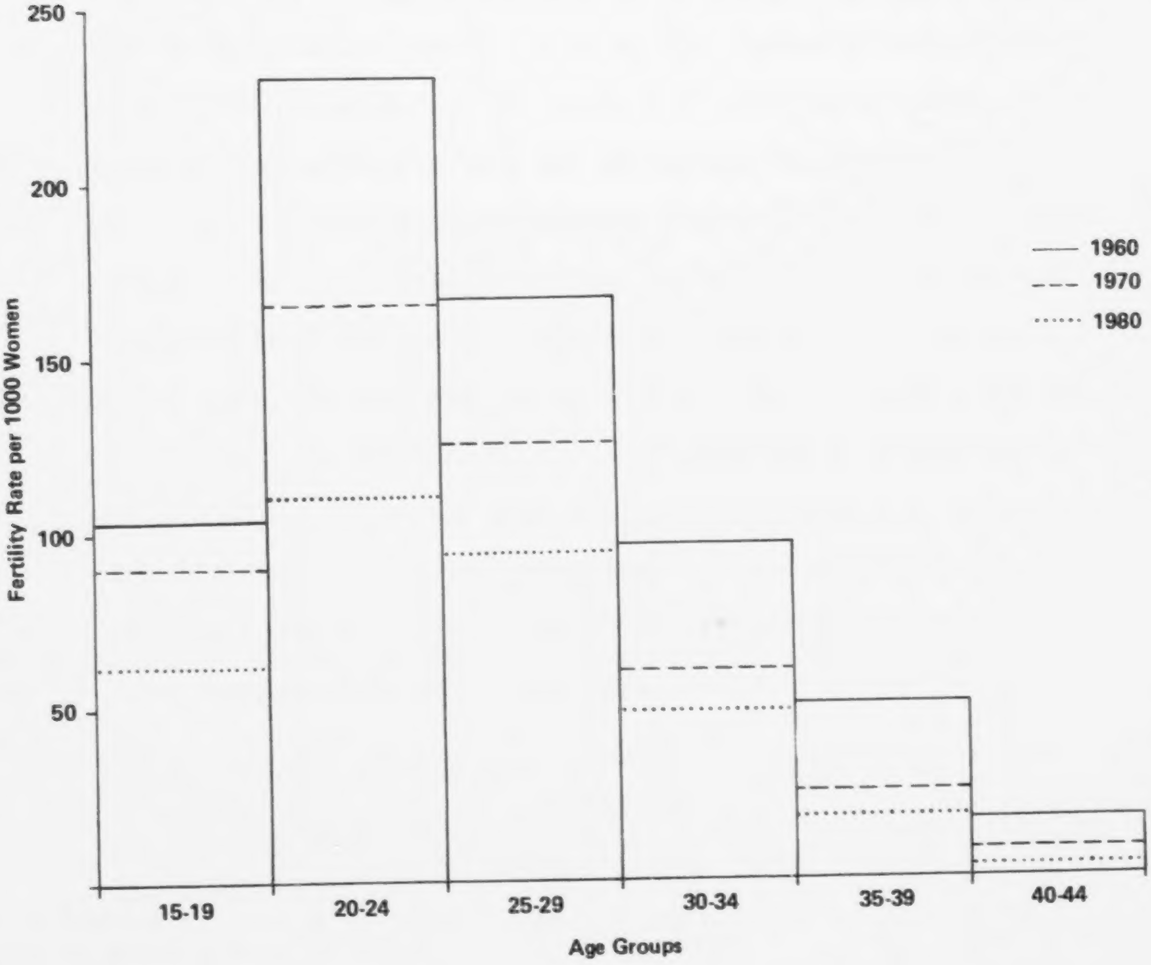
The general fertility rate (GFR) is the total number of live births occurring per 1,000 females, ages 15-44. It is a measure of children born to females assumed to be of reproductive ages and at risk of childbearing. Age-specific fertility rates (ASFR) are general fertility rates calculated for specific age groups within the 15- to 44-year age group.

A convenient way to display information about fertility is to graph a schedule of ASFR, called an age profile of fertility. When general fertility is high, an age profile typically shows high values across all age groups. Such a pattern suggests that women generally have large numbers of children and that their childbearing is spread throughout their reproductive years. When general fertility declines, or is low, the age profile shows lower values, especially for women over 30 years of age. The highest values are among women 20-24 and 25-29 years of age. This pattern suggests that families are smaller and that childbearing is often ended by the age of 30.

Figure 2 displays age-specific profiles of fertility for Tennessee in 1960, 1970, and 1980. (These profiles are based on data

FIGURE 2

AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES FOR TENNESSEE, 1960, 1970, AND 1980



presented in Table 7 below.) The age profiles show decreases from 1960 to 1980 in fertility rates for each age group, with the most marked declines in the 35-and-over categories.

Table 7 presents age-specific fertility rates, total fertility rates, and general fertility rates for the decades 1960 through 1980, as well as the percentage changes in these values. Among the 15-19, 20-24, and 40-44 year-olds, the pace of fertility decline accelerated, as measured by the relative magnitudes of percentage decreases in each successive decade. Among the 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39 year-olds, the fertility decline was not as rapid in the second decade as in the first.

TABLE 7

AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES (ASFRs), TOTAL FERTILITY RATES (TFRs), AND GENERAL FERTILITY RATES (GFRs) FOR TENNESSEE, 1960, 1970, AND 1980

	ASFRs						TFR	GFR
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44		
1960	103.7	229.0	168.2	95.6	50.1	16.1	3.3	110.2
1970	90.4	165.3	124.4	60.8	26.5	7.2	2.4	86.0
1980	62.8	111.6	95.9	48.0	15.0	2.9	1.7	62.7
Percent Change								
1960-70	-12.8	-27.8	-26.0	-36.4	-47.1	-55.3	-27.2	-22.0
1970-80	-30.5	-32.5	-22.9	-21.0	-43.3	-59.7	-29.2	-27.1

Between 1960 and 1970 the GFR decreased 22 percent, and from 1970 to 1980 it fell again by 27 percent. For the 20-year period, the GFR declined by 43.1 percent. A glance at the TFRs in Table 7 shows that in the past two decades Tennessee women have moved from excessive fertility to just below replacement, showing a decrease between 1960 and 1980 of 48.5 percent.

The rapidity of fertility declines and the shift in the age profile of fertility indirectly suggests successful targeting of teenagers and young adults by family planning programs during the 1970s. Survey data clearly show that such efforts were successful nationally. Teenagers now have learned more about family planning and increased their effective use of contraception. For those who did experience unwanted pregnancies, the legalization of abortion has provided an alternative that has also been a factor in lower fertility rates during the past decade.

Fertility Trends For Counties And Development Districts

All the development districts in the state have participated in the fertility decline in the last ten years. For each of the direct measures of fertility, i.e., ASFRs, GFRs and TFRs, there is a sharp decline across the state. East Tennessee generally has the lowest fertility, West Tennessee has the highest fertility, and the central part of the state falls in between. The rates of change in fertility have been most dramatic in East Tennessee. West Tennessee still has to lower its rates to achieve parity with the rest of the state.

Figure 3 displays GFRs by counties for 1970 and 1980. (These maps are based on data presented in Table 8 below.) Three patterns of low, medium, and high fertility are coded on each map. The magnitude of the fertility decline between 1970 and 1980 again is apparent from the sizeable decreases in the ranges of each of the categories. A glance at these two maps shows that counties in East Tennessee, especially those in First and East Tennessee Development Districts, generally shifted from medium to low levels of GFRs. Conversely, counties in West Tennessee, those in Southwest and Memphis Delta Development Districts,

TABLE 8

DIRECT MEASURES OF FERTILITY FOR TENNESSEE DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS, 1980

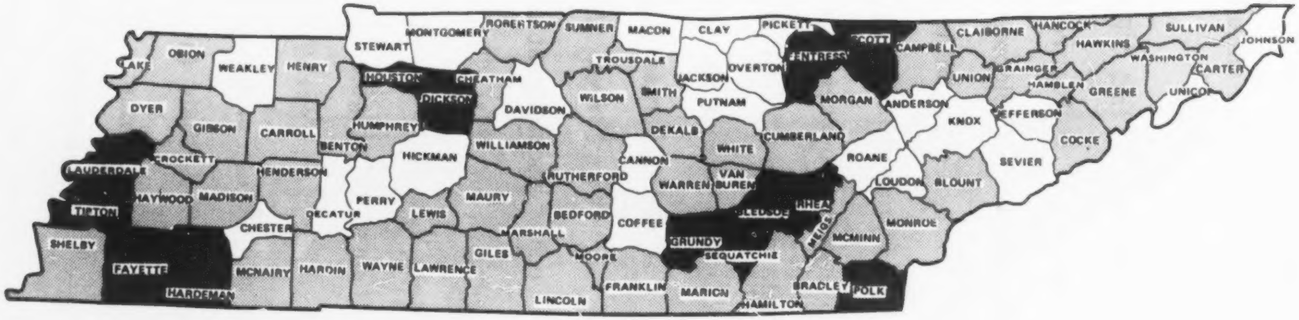
	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	TFR	GFR
First Tennessee	1.4	54.8	101.0	85.4	38.9	11.5	2.3	1.5	52.8
East Tennessee	1.6	57.7	103.2	88.5	43.7	13.3	2.6	1.6	57.1
Southeast	1.7	62.6	110.6	95.4	46.5	14.3	2.8	1.7	61.6
Upper Cumberland	1.6	58.8	112.9	100.7	46.4	13.8	2.4	1.7	60.9
Mid-Cumberland	1.8	63.5	105.5	91.5	47.3	15.1	3.0	1.6	61.7
South Central	1.5	60.5	127.9	107.3	50.7	14.3	2.5	1.8	64.7
Northwest	1.6	58.1	115.1	104.1	48.0	14.4	2.8	1.7	63.3
Southwest	1.7	61.5	121.2	107.1	53.5	16.7	3.3	1.8	67.8
Memphis Delta	2.0	73.6	123.0	103.4	56.6	19.1	3.8	1.9	73.2

SOURCE: Hastings and Jacobsen, 1983.

FIGURE 3

GENERAL FERTILITY RATES BY COUNTY, 1970 AND 1980

1970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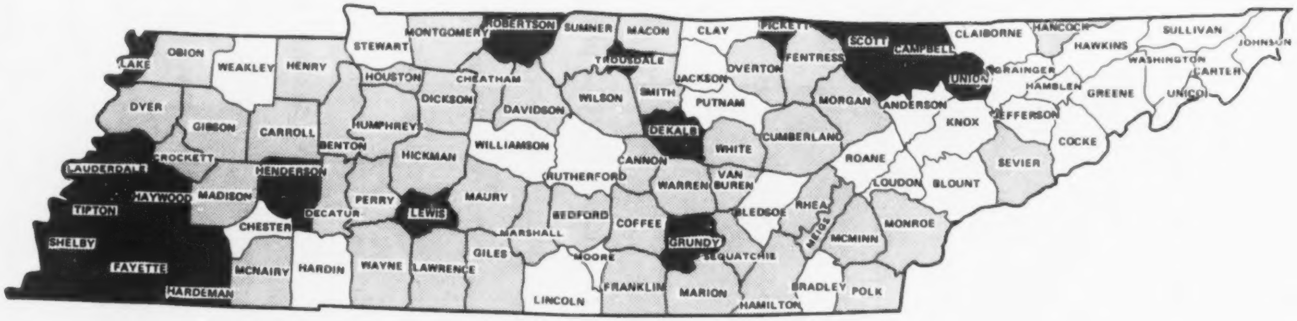
Rates ☐ Under 60 to 79 ■ 80 to 99
▨ 100 and Over

1980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MARION
HAMILTON
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Rates ☐ Under 50 to 59 ■ 60 to 69
▨ 70 and Over

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remained in the high fertility categories. For those counties in the Southeast, Upper Cumberland, Mid-Cumberland, South Central and Northwest Development Districts, there is no consistent pattern of change from one category to another.

Figure 4 shows the percent change in GFRs and TFRs between 1970 and 1980 by counties. As the values in Figure 3 suggest, counties in the First and East Tennessee Development Districts had large to moderate percentage decreases in GFRs, while counties in Southeast, Mid-Cumberland and Upper Cumberland generally fell into the moderate-to-small range of percent declines. Counties of West Tennessee, Memphis Delta and Southwest typically were in the small-to-moderate categories of percentage change.

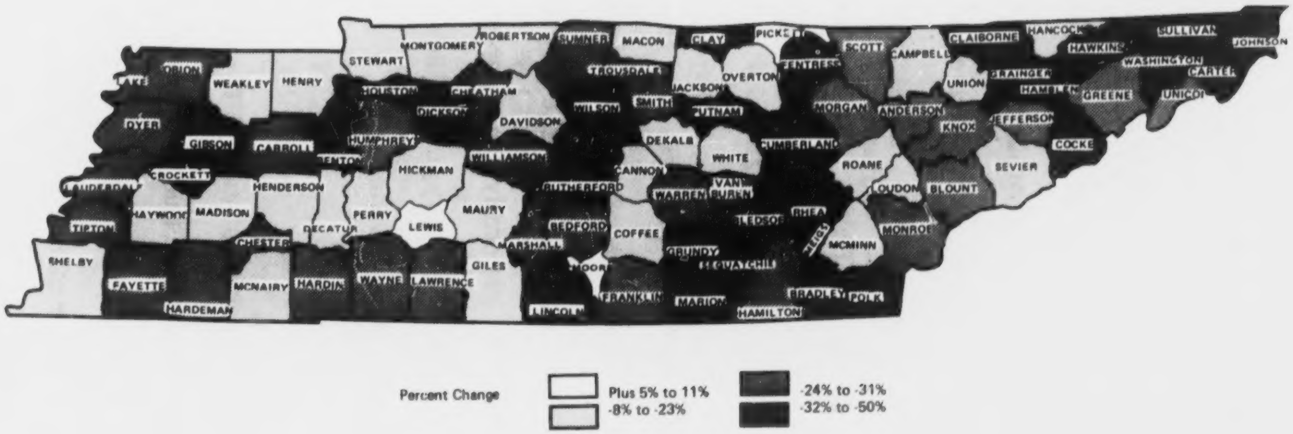
This pattern of fertility decline in 1970-1980 across counties, as measured by percent changes in GFRs, differs from that observed in the years 1960-1970. In that decade the largest percentage decreases in GFRs occurred in counties in West Tennessee; intermediate declines were noted in Middle Tennessee; and small drops were seen in East Tennessee (Hastings and Engels, 1972:4).

This apparent anomaly is easily explained. West Tennessee historically has had higher fertility than the middle or eastern portions of the state. In part, the regional differentials in fertility are due to differences in racial composition by county. Counties in West Tennessee have higher percentages of blacks than counties in other parts of the state, and for many years blacks have had higher fertility rates than whites. In 1960-1970, West Tennessee could and did experience sizeable drops in fertility and still did

FIGURE 4

PERCENT CHANGES IN TOTAL FERTILITY RATES AND GENERAL FERTILITY RATES IN TENNESSEE COUNTIES, 1970-1980

Total Fertility Rates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HARDIN
WAYNE
LAWRENCE
GILES
MOORE
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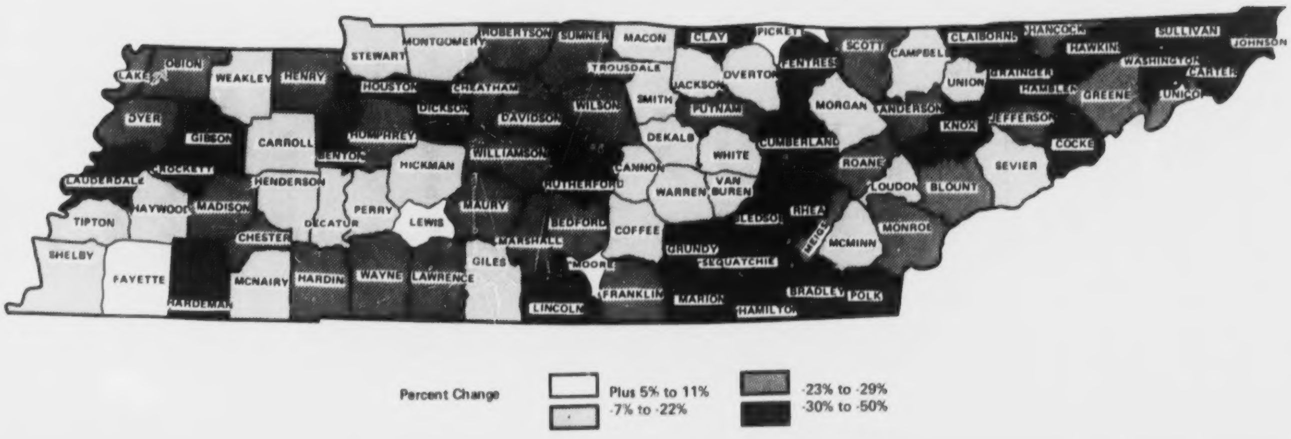
FRANKLIN
MARION
HAMILTON
BRADLEY
POLK
Percent Change
Plus 5% to 11%
-8% to -23%
-24% to -31%
-32% to -50%

General Fertility Rates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BRADLEY
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Percent Change
Plus 5% to 11%
-7% to -22%
-23% to -29%
-30% to -50%

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not achieve parity with the rest of the state. In 1970-1980, regional differentials in fertility between West Tennessee and other parts of the state continued to reflect the persistence of racial differentials.

Percent changes in TFRs between 1970 and 1980 displayed in Figure 4 show a clear-cut pattern of marked fertility declines in the eastern half of the state and smaller declines in the western half. Those with the lowest TFRs, 1.6 or less, are First Tennessee, East Tennessee and Mid-Cumberland. Conversely, those development districts with the highest TFRs, 1.8 or more, are South Central, Southeast, and Memphis Delta. Falling in the middle range (the state average being 1.7) are Upper Cumberland, Southeast, and Northwest.

Table 8 presents 1980 fertility measures for the development districts as a whole. Table 9 provides data on the GFRs, TFRs, and ASFRs for all Tennessee counties. As the map data indicate, the lowest values at each age generally are reported for First Tennessee, while the highest ASFRs typically are obtained for South Central, Southwest, and Memphis Delta.

Migration And Fertility

In the early 1970s, demographers viewed fertility as a major agent of population change, believing that migration played only a minor role. Fertility can be multiplicative in its effect on population growth in that couples can reproduce themselves a number of times over, while migration is simply additive, with individuals entering and exiting the population singly.

TABLE 9

TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, GENERAL FERTILITY RATES, AND AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES FOR COUNTIES, BY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT

EAST TENNESSEE DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970 - 1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Anderson	1970	2.2	76.5	69.1	160.9	126.9	68.7	16.1
	1980	1.6	58.0	60.5	117.6	90.6	42.2	15.4
	% Change	26	24	12	27	29	39	5
Blount	1970	2.1	81.0	83.0	160.9	127.9	46.1	11.0
	1980	1.6	57.0	62.5	110.3	87.3	40.7	15.3
	% Change	25	30	25	31	32	12	39
Campbell	1970	2.5	90.2	74.8	186.5	129.8	74.9	32.1
	1980	2.0	69.6	64.8	143.9	115.9	51.9	18.9
	% Change	21	23	13	23	11	31	41
Claiborne	1970	2.2	82.6	72.4	160.3	109.9	58.9	30.5
	1980	1.5	56.2	56.4	103.9	87.3	43.2	15.6
	% Change	30	32	22	35	21	27	49
Cocke	1970	2.4	92.9	113.7	167.5	112.6	66.6	25.3
	1980	1.6	58.0	58.1	114.2	94.3	41.6	15.1
	% Change	32	38	49	32	16	37	40
Grainger	1970	2.3	87.4	92.2	170.5	117.6	49.1	26.5
	1980	1.6	56.1	56.6	110.6	92.2	42.5	14.3
	% Change	31	36	39	35	22	13	46
Hamblin	1970	2.4	89.6	110.1	169.9	125.0	58.0	17.1
	1980	1.6	56.2	60.1	114.0	93.2	40.7	14.0
	% Change	33	37	45	33	25	30	18
Jefferson	1970	1.9	71.4	69.9	155.2	107.1	68.0	14.6
	1980	1.5	51.9	48.0	92.1	97.5	41.1	13.5
	% Change	23	27	31	41	9	40	7
Knox	1970	2.0	75.2	70.0	131.1	124.4	60.4	13.8
	1980	1.4	53.6	57.0	85.2	79.3	42.8	16.5
	% Change	30	29	19	35	36	29	19

TABLE 9 (Continued)

EAST TENNESSEE DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970 - 1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Loudon	1970	2.0	72.4	76.7	155.1	99.9	49.7	16.6
	1980	1.6	57.3	61.3	119.5	90.4	40.3	14.4
	% Change	18	21	20	23	9	19	13
Monroe	1970	2.4	95.0	105.2	184.8	121.6	51.4	23.3
	1980	1.9	65.6	62.1	132.2	111.3	48.9	16.3
	% Change	23	31	41	28	8	5	30
Morgan	1970	2.4	90.1	76.9	216.1	114.0	54.8	23.6
	1980	1.9	67.2	60.4	136.7	111.1	51.6	18.1
	% Change	21	25	21	37	3	6	23
Roane	1970	2.2	74.6	64.0	189.1	103.0	62.0	17.0
	1980	1.7	57.5	59.5	124.9	90.6	42.1	14.5
	% Change	25	23	7	34	12	32	15
Scott	1970	2.8	104.9	107.2	213.9	143.5	70.7	23.3
	1980	2.0	73.9	70.5	139.0	114.1	57.6	21.1
	% Change	28	30	34	35	20	19	10
Sevier	1970	2.1	75.8	85.5	167.8	91.7	54.0	16.4
	1980	1.7	60.2	65.2	121.7	89.9	45.3	15.2
	% Change	20	21	24	27	2	16	7
Union	1970	2.3	90.3	102.5	175.2	95.5	63.1	26.1
	1980	1.9	69.8	71.0	121.3	108.0	69.8	18.0
	% Change	16	23	31	31	13	11	31

TABLE 9 (Continued)

FIRST TENNESSEE DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Carter	1970	2.3	86.6	91.4	170.7	118.7	63.3	15.5
	1980	1.5	53.1	53.9	98.1	85.6	42.1	13.8
	% Change	36	39	41	43	28	34	11
Greene	1970	2.2	79.7	70.7	165.3	119.4	62.6	14.8
	1980	1.6	54.8	56.9	114.9	88.9	39.3	14.2
	% Change	29	31	20	30	26	37	4
Hancock	1970	2.4	82.9	85.4	137.4	142.9	89.3	17.2
	1980	1.8	63.9	56.3	114.7	109.2	53.1	21.0
	% Change	26	23	34	17	24	41	22
Hawkins	1970	2.3	87.0	82.3	194.0	97.1	68.3	24.4
	1980	1.6	55.5	61.2	119.5	86.2	38.2	14.0
	% Change	30	36	26	38	11	44	43
Johnson	1970	2.1	79.2	78.4	133.0	113.2	71.9	26.8
	1980	1.5	52.2	58.0	102.3	87.0	36.2	13.5
	% Change	30	34	26	23	23	50	50
Sullivan	1970	2.4	86.8	80.9	175.2	135.7	64.9	15.4
	1980	1.5	51.9	58.0	106.3	83.9	37.3	12.9
	% Change	38	40	28	39	38	42	16
Unicoi	1970	2.2	79.1	95.9	176.8	113.1	49.4	9.1
	1980	1.6	56.4	60.6	108.1	93.8	41.7	14.0
	% Change	28	29	37	39	17	16	54
Washington	1970	2.2	84.3	76.7	155.4	124.8	61.6	19.2
	1980	1.3	50.3	51.3	81.2	82.1	39.2	14.6
	% Change	39	40	33	48	34	36	24

TABLE 9 (Continued)

SOUTHEAST DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Bledsoe	1970	2.9	108.5	129.4	220.6	147.8	52.9	21.0
	1980	1.5	54.4	49.5	88.8	95.2	46.3	17.4
	% Change	49	50	62	60	36	12	17
Bradley	1970	2.4	91.9	93.4	187.1	119.9	56.3	18.3
	1980	1.6	58.1	58.2	104.9	96.9	44.6	15.3
	% Change	33	37	38	44	19	21	17
Grundy	1970	3.2	121.7	121.0	237.9	159.0	72.8	42.7
	1980	2.0	73.2	73.3	139.8	117.8	56.5	18.8
	% Change	37	40	39	41	26	22	56
Hamilton	1970	2.4	87.4	100.1	178.3	125.6	57.6	12.9
	1980	1.7	61.9	67.1	106.8	91.9	46.5	18.0
	% Change	31	29	33	40	27	19	39
Marion	1970	2.5	92.7	97.9	183.3	120.4	69.9	22.0
	1980	1.7	60.0	58.5	121.5	98.0	44.9	15.5
	% Change	32	35	40	34	19	36	30
McMinn	1970	2.2	80.9	83.3	151.3	121.5	61.9	15.7
	1980	1.8	63.1	64.1	125.9	100.8	48.0	16.3
	% Change	19	22	23	17	17	22	4
Meigs	1970	2.4	96.3	109.2	183.0	95.5	82.3	18.5
	1980	1.7	61.1	61.2	128.0	95.7	43.9	16.3
	% Change	28	37	44	30	0	47	12
Polk	1970	3.1	113.2	115.0	250.3	165.2	76.7	14.7
	1980	1.8	61.4	61.6	129.3	110.9	41.3	15.6
	% Change	42	46	46	48	33	46	6
Rhea	1970	2.7	106.0	95.8	207.3	150.1	67.1	21.5
	1980	1.8	63.7	60.5	119.7	102.7	50.5	17.0
	% Change	35	40	37	42	32	25	21
Sequatchie	1970	2.7	102.8	104.2	219.7	146.8	46.3	22.4
	1980	1.8	64.3	64.5	128.7	107.7	45.2	17.9
	% Change	33	37	38	41	27	2	20

TABLE 9 (Continued)

UPPER CUMBERLAND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Cannon	1970	2.2	78.7	82.0	162.9	123.6	48.0	14.4
	1980	1.7	61.6	63.0	120.2	101.9	47.5	15.7
	% Change	21	22	23	26	18	1	9
Clay	1970	2.0	74.5	87.6	139.7	87.8	54.9	22.5
	1980	1.4	48.3	43.9	99.3	81.8	38.0	12.4
	% Change	31	35	50	29	7	31	45
Cumberland	1970	2.6	98.7	111.0	183.3	138.6	73.2	22.7
	1980	1.7	60.6	58.0	122.8	99.2	46.2	15.8
	% Change	34	39	48	33	28	37	30
DeKalb	1970	2.3	86.1	98.4	169.7	113.4	62.9	23.8
	1980	2.0	70.5	70.5	150.0	107.1	53.7	17.1
	% Change	13	18	28	12	6	15	28
Fentress	1970	3.0	114.8	124.8	221.7	156.5	71.2	28.1
	1980	2.0	69.2	67.9	144.9	107.9	52.5	17.1
	% Change	35	40	46	35	31	26	39
Jackson	1970	2.0	73.2	78.7	147.5	100.5	52.1	19.9
	1980	1.7	58.8	61.6	117.1	95.7	42.9	17.8
	% Change	16	20	22	21	5	18	11
Macon	1970	2.1	79.4	98.7	179.7	94.1	46.5	10.2
	1980	1.8	64.3	70.0	125.4	99.3	47.5	16.7
	% Change	15	19	29	30	6	2	63
Overton	1970	2.0	73.3	81.0	163.0	90.6	42.6	13.3
	1980	1.9	63.7	64.8	132.0	113.2	46.4	15.6
	% Change	7	13	20	19	25	9	17
Pickett	1970	1.8	65.6	58.5	136.0	99.0	60.9	14.7
	1980	2.0	72.9	76.9	147.2	110.4	49.4	16.0
	% Change	11	11	31	8	12	19	9
Putnam	1970	1.9	74.6	58.9	120.3	131.7	61.9	17.3
	1980	1.3	50.1	45.9	73.1	90.1	42.4	15.7
	% Change	29	33	22	39	32	32	9

TABLE 9 (Continued)

UPPER CUMBERLAND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Smith	1970	2.2	81.0	85.7	168.7	115.3	51.8	19.8
	1980	1.7	61.5	60.2	120.6	101.5	45.6	15.7
	% Change	22	24	30	28	12	12	21
Van Buren	1970	2.1	83.0	85.4	206.1	82.0	35.1	13.8
	1980	1.8	63.1	66.7	131.2	94.1	44.6	13.2
	% Change	17	24	22	36	15	27	5
Warren	1970	2.3	86.9	113.8	172.3	99.7	48.5	23.9
	1980	1.9	66.3	69.3	128.7	108.4	47.4	17.3
	% Change	20	24	39	25	9	2	28
White	1970	2.2	83.4	97.4	182.9	93.9	50.4	17.3
	1980	1.9	66.4	71.9	132.1	104.3	49.2	16.7
	% Change	15	20	26	28	11	2	3

TABLE 9 (Continued)

MID-CUMBERLAND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Cheatham	1970	2.4	87.7	94.4	173.3	132.3	56.8	17.2
	1980	1.7	60.2	61.7	133.4	91.6	43.2	15.6
	% Change	28	31	35	23	31	24	9
Davidson	1970	2.1	78.5	83.3	140.1	119.6	56.6	13.4
	1980	1.6	60.7	67.0	95.3	84.1	47.8	19.5
	% Change	25	23	20	32	30	16	46
Dickson	1970	2.8	102.5	117.1	216.1	125.5	82.6	17.6
	1980	1.8	64.9	61.9	120.4	111.4	48.2	16.9
	% Change	34	37	47	40	11	42	4
Houston	1970	2.9	109.5	116.5	201.8	141.0	85.4	30.8
	1980	1.8	63.7	60.3	138.4	91.6	47.2	21.6
	% Change	38	42	48	31	35	45	30
Humphreys	1970	2.6	89.5	91.5	218.3	129.9	56.3	18.5
	1980	1.8	65.2	65.1	131.8	107.0	47.9	16.4
	% Change	29	27	29	40	18	15	12
Montgomery	1970	1.9	74.4	80.3	148.8	89.4	47.9	16.8
	1980	1.8	68.4	69.9	98.9	102.1	57.8	22.7
	% Change	7	8	13	34	14	21	35
Robertson	1970	2.5	88.4	81.7	210.1	131.0	62.4	16.3
	1980	1.9	70.0	68.4	135.3	106.5	53.9	19.1
	% Change	23	21	16	36	19	14	17
Rutherford	1970	2.2	84.6	77.2	142.8	138.7	59.3	15.3
	1980	1.5	57.9	55.2	86.9	94.2	48.5	18.4
	% Change	31	32	28	39	32	18	20
Stewart	1970	1.9	65.9	71.7	151.4	100.0	46.2	13.6
	1980	1.6	54.2	50.4	118.9	88.4	43.8	15.3
	% Change	17	18	30	21	12	5	12
Sumner	1970	2.5	89.9	94.4	195.9	128.5	59.6	16.0
	1980	1.8	62.8	65.2	142.0	100.1	44.4	15.1
	% Change	27	30	31	28	22	26	6

TABLE 9 (Continued)

MID-CUMBERLAND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

County	Year	TFR	GFR	Age-Specific Rates 15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Trousdale	1970	2.2	81.2	99.5	184.2	104.5	51.3	6.7
	1980	1.9	70.8	77.6	133.6	95.2	50.0	24.1
	% Change	14	13	22	27	9	3	260
Williamson	1970	2.3	82.9	92.1	193.0	110.9	51.1	16.7
	1980	1.8	56.8	63.0	143.4	99.8	37.0	12.2
	% Change	23	31	32	26	10	28	27
Wilson	1970	2.5	93.0	101.1	193.7	129.1	59.4	16.9
	1980	1.9	63.0	67.7	147.2	102.4	41.5	15.4
	% Change	25	32	33	24	21	30	9

TABLE 9 (Continued)

SOUTH CENTRAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

County	Year	TFR	GFR	Age-Specific Rates 15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Bedford	1970	2.6	96.6	104.4	205.9	134.6	62.9	14.4
	1980	2.0	69.1	67.0	138.5	118.5	52.6	17.4
	% Change	24	28	36	33	12	16	21
Coffee	1970	2.2	77.8	79.7	173.7	122.2	58.5	13.7
	1980	1.8	63.8	61.1	129.2	107.5	50.8	15.9
	% Change	17	18	23	26	12	13	16
Franklin	1970	2.4	86.9	91.0	195.9	122.7	57.1	19.5
	1980	1.7	61.1	55.8	117.1	100.0	51.5	16.5
	% Change	29	30	39	40	19	10	15
Giles	1970	2.2	81.3	84.1	180.8	116.8	50.8	14.5
	1980	1.9	66.8	65.1	131.5	110.4	53.7	17.3
	% Change	14	18	23	27	6	6	19
Hickman	1970	2.0	72.9	77.9	159.4	84.0	60.4	17.3
	1980	1.8	64.2	65.5	138.3	101.9	47.9	15.4
	% Change	8	12	16	13	21	21	11
Lawrence	1970	2.6	94.2	81.3	212.3	140.3	71.8	23.2
	1980	1.9	67.6	64.4	126.5	118.5	53.8	18.2
	% Change	27	28	21	40	16	25	22
Lewis	1970	2.2	79.6	92.6	164.5	120.4	57.3	9.9
	1980	2.3	83.7	88.7	168.5	117.9	59.1	25.0
	% Change	5	5	4	2	2	3	152
Lincoln	1970	2.4	88.5	108.8	171.1	132.0	47.4	22.4
	1980	1.7	57.7	52.3	125.4	101.0	45.2	14.3
	% Change	30	35	52	27	23	5	36
Marshall	1970	2.5	90.3	110.4	208.5	94.8	64.9	14.1
	1980	1.9	66.2	69.9	130.8	102.5	50.4	17.0
	% Change	26	27	37	37	8	22	20
Maury	1970	2.3	81.9	96.9	178.6	122.3	45.0	13.9
	1980	1.8	63.5	60.0	119.9	103.4	49.1	17.3
	% Change	24	22	38	33	15	9	24
Moore	1970	1.5	54.0	67.6	106.4	69.2	48.4	13.7
	1980	1.7	59.1	53.4	118.0	117.7	43.2	13.5
	% Change	15	9	21	11	70	11	1

TABLE 9 (Continued)

SOUTH CENTRAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Perry	1970	2.2	79.3	85.1	195.3	96.4	47.6	16.2
	1980	1.9	66.5	67.5	141.5	109.0	53.7	15.6
	% Change	12	16	21	28	13	13	4
Wayne	1970	2.3	87.6	103.3	190.1	80.0	64.3	22.0
	1980	1.7	60.1	57.1	120.8	99.6	46.9	16.0
	% Change	26	31	45	36	25	27	27

TABLE 9 (Continued)

NORTHWEST DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Benton	1970	2.6	92.2	110.6	202.9	109.6	76.9	11.7
	1980	1.7	60.9	61.3	119.7	100.4	47.5	15.8
	% Change	34	34	45	41	8	38	35
Carroll	1970	2.3	87.6	93.8	171.3	125.7	59.1	16.7
	1980	1.9	66.3	67.0	135.5	109.2	49.0	16.5
	% Change	18	24	29	21	13	17	1
Crockett	1970	2.5	93.4	73.4	204.5	127.6	68.2	24.6
	1980	1.8	62.5	54.6	120.7	110.2	48.5	16.8
	% Change	28	33	26	41	14	29	32
Dyer	1970	2.5	94.0	112.2	184.9	116.7	61.0	18.9
	1980	1.8	64.6	63.5	121.9	108.4	45.9	18.2
	% Change	28	31	43	34	7	25	4
Gibson	1970	2.6	95.4	114.1	188.2	133.5	69.6	17.3
	1980	1.8	63.6	61.7	126.7	104.1	46.2	17.7
	% Change	32	33	46	33	22	34	2
Henry	1970	2.3	80.1	92.2	179.2	112.1	53.6	14.1
	1980	1.7	62.4	64.7	119.2	99.3	46.8	16.5
	% Change	25	22	30	34	11	13	17
Lake	1970	2.5	94.5	112.2	188.4	126.1	51.5	17.2
	1980	1.9	70.6	67.1	129.3	112.3	53.9	24.4
	% Change	23	25	40	31	11	5	42
Obion	1970	2.5	92.7	111.9	205.5	111.7	59.5	12.1
	1980	1.8	64.6	66.5	131.3	97.1	50.5	16.0
	% Change	28	30	41	36	13	15	32
Weakley	1970	1.8	68.2	49.4	128.1	108.9	60.0	11.9
	1980	1.4	52.2	42.8	72.1	104.4	49.9	17.3
	% Change	21	23	13	44	4	17	45

TABLE 9 (Continued)

SOUTHWEST DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

County	Year	TFR	GFR	Age-Specific Rates 15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Chester	1970	2.0	71.9	43.7	189.3	103.3	57.1	15.7
	1980	1.4	51.2	38.2	78.0	103.0	46.7	17.5
	% Change	29	29	13	59	0	18	11
Decatur	1970	2.1	78.4	93.1	152.5	100.3	51.6	16.2
	1980	1.9	66.3	69.2	127.2	116.5	49.7	18.2
	% Change	10	15	26	17	16	4	12
Hardeman	1970	2.9	108.3	117.2	199.5	143.6	83.5	34.4
	1980	2.0	74.6	65.6	139.1	120.3	58.0	22.1
	% Change	30	31	44	30	16	31	36
Hardin	1970	2.2	82.3	99.0	176.2	92.2	64.0	17.6
	1980	1.7	59.1	60.8	123.0	91.2	43.7	16.3
	% Change	24	28	39	30	1	32	8
Haywood	1970	2.6	93.0	82.4	191.2	119.7	88.2	31.3
	1980	2.2	82.0	70.8	141.4	123.0	70.1	26.3
	% Change	17	12	14	26	3	21	16
Henderson	1970	2.2	82.5	102.7	165.9	98.8	72.3	8.0
	1980	2.0	70.4	67.7	147.0	106.6	51.0	19.2
	% Change	11	15	34	11	8	29	139
Madison	1970	2.3	87.0	82.7	157.4	128.1	77.7	16.6
	1980	1.8	67.2	63.4	109.2	102.3	54.2	21.6
	% Change	24	23	23	31	20	30	30
McNairy	1970	2.2	79.6	87.8	178.6	103.7	54.5	13.4
	1980	2.0	67.0	68.8	142.5	111.9	51.1	16.2
	% Change	11	16	22	20	8	6	21

TABLE 9 (Continued)

MEMPHIS DELTA DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, 1970-1980

				Age-Specific Rates				
County	Year	TFR	GFR	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44
Fayette	1970	2.8	104.4	84.4	203.6	130.4	98.4	52.3
	1980	2.2	78.6	62.9	141.3	132.0	70.1	23.4
	% Change	23	25	25	31	1	29	55
Lauderdale	1970	3.2	119.5	118.1	263.5	152.7	75.5	31.6
	1980	2.3	82.1	73.8	155.9	133.1	65.7	22.1
	% Change	30	31	37	41	13	13	30
Shelby	1970	2.4	93.2	104.7	165.9	136.0	64.5	17.3
	1980	1.9	72.8	76.6	121.2	101.5	55.9	23.1
	% Change	21	22	27	27	25	13	34
Tipton	1970	2.6	100.0	107.7	186.1	138.0	69.0	22.8
	1980	2.0	73.5	64.7	137.0	123.3	60.5	20.2
	% Change	22	27	40	26	11	12	12

Economists and policy makers took the opposing view that migration was the key to local and state population growth as well as economic development. During the decade 1960-1970, fertility did, in fact, exceed migration in contributing to Tennessee's growth, supporting the view of demographers.

By 1980, however, the belief was somewhat weakened that migration, in effect, would "play second fiddle to fertility" in accounting for Tennessee's future growth. During the 1970-1980 decade, Tennessee, as part of the Sunbelt, has experienced marked in-migration, accounting for more than one-third of the population change in the state between 1970 and 1980.

Migration, in turn, may affect fertility patterns. In order to understand the effects of migration on fertility rates, one must compare the fertility of migrants and non-migrants. If the fertility rates for each are the same, then fertility would be unaffected by migration. If, however, migrants' fertility differs from that of non-migrants, the fertility rates will be affected by disproportionate changes in the numerators and denominators used in calculating the fertility rates.

The net in-migration experienced over the decade will increase the population count used in the denominator when calculating fertility rates. If, in fact, these in-migrants have low fertility, the numerator will be smaller than one based only on non-migrants. Thus, in counties experiencing high in-migration, fertility rates would be expected to decrease more than rates for counties with low in-migration. Under the same assumptions of differing fertility, counties with out-migration should show high fertility rates, since the denominator is decreased through population loss, and the fertility of the remaining non-migrants is higher than those who left.

Migration data show that out-migrants tend to have higher levels of education than those they leave behind, and recent evidence indicates that in-migrants to the South tend to have higher education and income than the receiving population (Kahley, 1982). Higher levels of education and income are traditionally associated with lower levels of fertility. Thus, the fertility of migrants to the state probably has been lower than that of non-migrant Tennesseans. Migration into areas of low fertility, such as Knox County, will tend to maintain or further lower the area's fertility rates. Migration away from areas of high fertility, such as Shelby County, will tend to raise fertility rates there. Thus, selective patterns of migration could very well sharpen future regional fertility differentials.

Expectations For The Next Decade

Given that social influences toward smaller family size are not likely to change dramatically, especially not to reverse, and that net in-migration seems likely to continue during the 1980s, we can probably expect continued decreases in fertility in Tennessee. In terms of ASFRs, lower rates are likely to occur among 20-24 and 25-29 year olds, with perhaps a slight rise among 30-34 and 35-39 year-olds, as these older women initiate childbearing delayed until well after the completion of their educations and establishment of job careers. Losses to Tennessee's population from lower fertility will, of course, be softened by in-migration. As long as regions differ and in-migration persists, we can also expect regional differences in fertility to persist.

Procedures

To generate the various direct measures of fertility for 1980, two data sets were required: (1) population counts and (2) numbers of live births (resident). Population counts by age and sex were obtained for each county in Tennessee, 1980. The 1980 values were copied from the 1980 Census Summary Tape STF 1-B. By combining age intervals of different widths, a set of five- and ten-year age categories was generated. The age groups of relevance for calculating the various fertility measures were 10-14, 15-19, . . ., 30-34 and 35-44 years. To subdivide the 35-44 age group into five-year age groups, the Sprague multipliers interpolation was used for mixed 5- and 10-year age intervals (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973). The procedures used in obtaining age and sex population counts for Tennessee counties in 1970 are described elsewhere (Engels and Hastings, 1972).

The number of total live births, by age of mother, for both the state and counties in 1979 and 1980, came from the state series on vital registration statistics (Tennessee Department of Public Health, 1979-1980). At the author's request, special tallies of total live births by age of mother for both the state and counties for 1981 were made available in tabular form, i.e., 1981 Provisional Births by Age of Mother, by the State Center for Health Statistics (Tennessee Department of Public Health, 1981).

To estimate the various direct measures of fertility, census-centered births and estimated age-specific birth distributions were needed.

(1) *Census-centered births, 1980, were obtained to compensate for fluctuations in the number of births which occur from one year to the next.* By adding proportions of births from adjacent years to a proportion of census year births, average birth values were obtained. These values indicate the 'trend level' of births at the end of the decade and are used in calculation of the various measures of fertility in this report. The census centering formula is:

$$\text{Census-centered Births}_{1980} = 25\%\ \text{Births}_{1979} + 50\%\ \text{Births}_{1980} + 25\%\ \text{Births}_{1981}.$$

(2) *Calculation of each county's age-based fertility measures required the allocation of reported total births into the needed age intervals.* Since state births were available by mother's age, they were used as a standard for allocating each county's total. The proportion of state births occurring in each age interval was used to distribute each county's total births into age intervals. For example, if across the state, 5 percent of all births occurred to women ages 15-19, then 5 percent of a county's total births was allocated to the age interval 15-19. Thus, the same set of calculated state proportions was used to partition county total figures into an age-specific distribution of births. Once the appropriate

age-specific birth estimates and population counts by age and sex were produced, calculation of the crude birth rate (CBR), general fertility rate, age-specific fertility rates, and total fertility rate was straightforward (U.S. Bureau of Commerce, 1973).

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